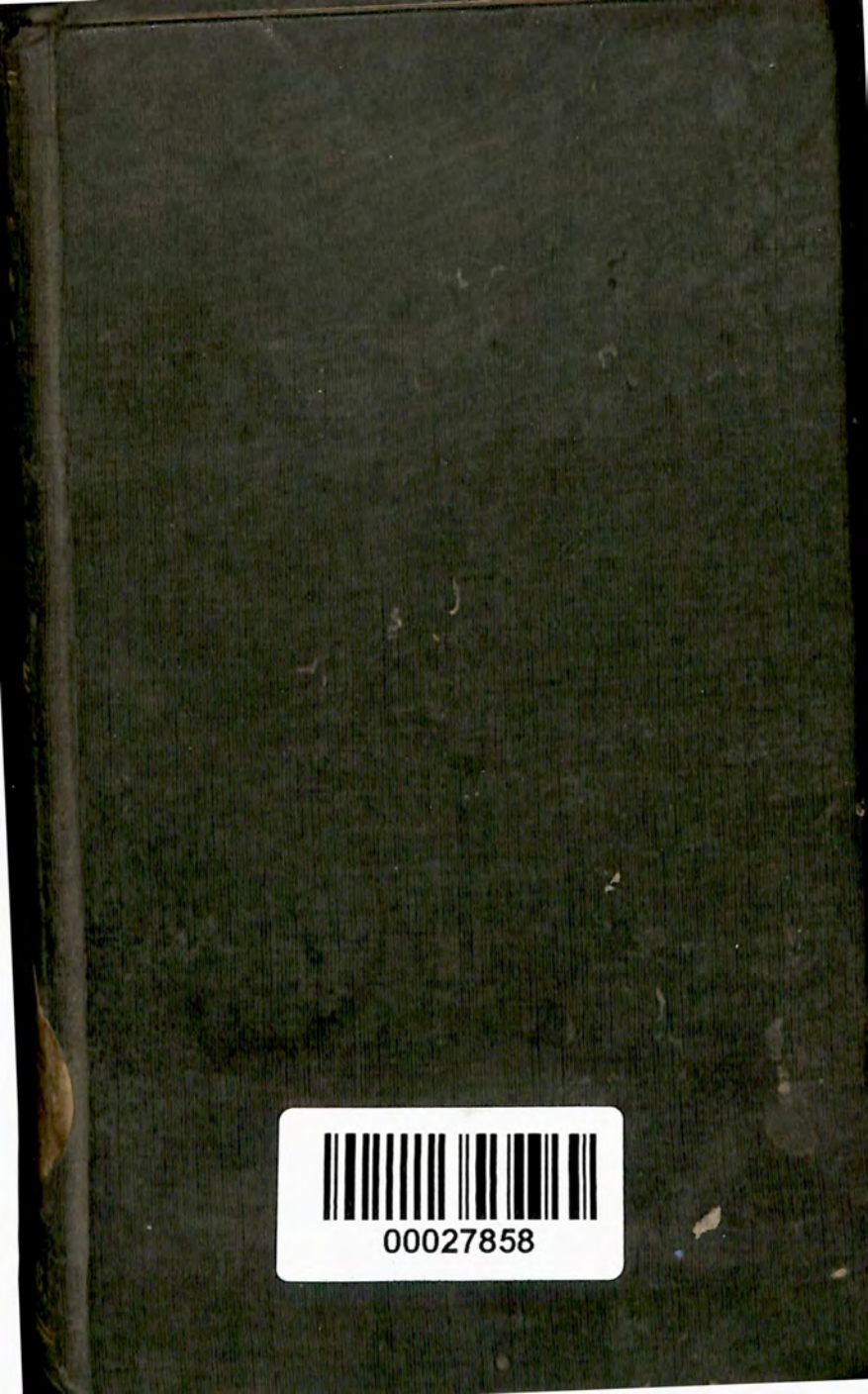
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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

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CADIZ
THE ISLE of LEON THE BAY
and adjacent Country
From a Spanish Map Published from Tofino
Pto de Sta Maria
Puerto Real
Chiclana
Bahia
La Boca de la Bahia
CADIZ

NOTES

27858

ac

OF THE

WAR IN SPAIN;

DETAILING

Occurrences Military and Political,

IN

GALICIA, AND AT GIBRALTAR AND CADIZ,

FROM THE FALL OF CORUNNA TO THE OCCUPATION OF CADIZ BY THE FRENCH.

BY

THOMAS STEELE, Esq. M.A.

OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, A MEMBER OF THE SPANISH COMMITTEE.

"We looked toward England."

CLARENCE'S DREAM.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, JONES AND CO.

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1824.

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Bow-Street, Covent-Garden.

ADVERTISEMENT.

As MAJOR DICKSON and I had the charge of almost the whole of the Arms, Ammunition, and other Military Stores, sent out last summer from England to the Peninsula, the present Volume, (which is to be considered only as a kind of Memorandum-Book), has been written for the purpose of showing the English Subscribers, that my Friend and myself were not remiss in our duty.

By reason of the complicated difficulties with which we were surrounded, and the unexpected and disastrous termination of the Spanish War, only a small part of what was confided to us could be given to the Constitutionalists.

On my return to London, before Major Dickson's arrival, I gave in a Report, which was honored by the approbation of the Committee; and General Long, who presided, was kind enough to say, "every thing that has been done, deserves to be praised."

Holmes's Hotel,
Parliament-Street,
March, 1824.

ARMS, AMMUNITION, &c.

TABLE I.

50 Barrels of gunpowder.
500 Muskets.
500 Bayonets.
1829 Pouches.
393 Pouch-belts.
701 Bayonet-belts.
316 Canteens.
400 Slings, pouch-belts, bayonet ditto, &c.
650 Pair of trowsers.
630 Coats.
630 Waistcoats.
631 Knapsacks.
A case of turnscrews and worms.

TABLE II.

51 Barrels of gunpowder.
3306 Muskets.
3304 Bayonets.
12 Sets of knapsacks.
29 Swords.
1 Set of surgical instruments.
1 Blunderbuss.
13 Pistols.
3 Powder-horns.
2 Rifles.
50,000 Flints.

100,000 Musket-balls.
2760 Turnscrews, worms, &c. &c.
1002 Pouches and belts.
1005 Bayonet-belts.
1000 Stocks.
1 Bale of clothing.
1270 Military caps.

TABLE III.

2500 Muskets.
2500 Bayonets and scabbards.
315 Canteens.
1152 Pouches.
1511 Pouch-belts.
930 Bayonet ditto.
800 Slings.
2 Cases of worm-screws.
56 Casks, containing 56 cwt. of musket-balls*.
A great furnace for melting lead.

TABLE IV.

200 Muskets.
200 Bayonets.
5000 Musket-bullets.
15 Barrels of gunpowder.

* Deducting 5000 bullets.

It was not until after the 6th and 10th Chapters were printed, that I learned Lord Cochrane's squadron had not been off Lisbon.

In the 10th Chapter there is stronger proof than assertion, of what was believed at Cadiz.

For the most authentic account of the events in Galicia before our arrival in Spain, (instead of making this volume too long), I refer the reader to a work, entitled CONDUCT OF GENERAL QUIROGA; &c. drawn up by the Senors Pizarro, Lesama, Sheliski, and Romay, Officers who served under his command in the late Campaign.

ERRATA.

Page 49, *for* Fellows, *read* Falla.
— 104, *for* dancing daintily, *read* "dancing daintily."
— 128, *for* J. D. *read* I. D.
— 137, *for* manifiestation, *read* manifiestacion.
— 203, *for* A short note of the tenor, &c. *read* The following is a short note of the tenor, &c.
— 241, *for* Bienaventura do, *read* Bienaventurado.
— 264, *for* imprecation, *read* imprecations.

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NOTES

OF THE

WAR IN SPAIN.

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE TO SPAIN.

HAVING formed the resolution of joining the Spanish Constitutional Army, about the middle of last July I went on board the Iris, lying in the Thames, near the Tower, where she was taking in her lading, consisting of some thousand stand of arms, &c. &c. the donation of the Spanish Committee to the army which I was about to join. I went on board in London, at the request of our Secretary, Colonel Grant, who, in his anxiety for the service of the Constitutional Cause, was eager for the sailing of the vessel, and hoped that I, by my presence, might have some influence in hastening the Captain's preparations.

The arms, and the remainder of the cargo, consisting of military clothing, accoutrements, &c. &c. were placed by the Committee entirely at the disposal of Sir Robert Wilson.

We remained in London for two days after I went on board; we then dropped down the river, took in ballast at Erith, and proceeded to Gravesend; where I was joined by two gentlemen, who, as well as myself, intended offering their services to the Constitutionalists; Captain Dickson, with whom I was associated in the charge of the arms, and Mr. Frederick Chinery, who had left school in France, and was placed by his family under Captain Dickson's guardianship. This latter gentleman had resided at Corunna, was perfectly acquainted with Galicia; and at Ferrol and Corunna was much better known by the name "Saintiago," which had been given him by the Spaniards as a proof of attachment, than by his own.

In passing the Nore, we found that we rode crank, and we were obliged to put into Ramsgate for some additional tons of ballast. An adverse wind, which precluded the possibility of our leaving the harbour, detained us for six days and an half; and in conse-

quence of some considerations resulting from the Foreign Enlistment Bill, when at length the wind became favorable, we were not at all sorry to find ourselves outside the flood-gates of the harbour.

Our voyage was very rough and boisterous; we had thick weather in the Channel, and the wind was right on end, so that our crew constantly praised God, that "it was so bad it could not be worse." We had to beat all through, and frequently found ourselves in the morning not farther advanced than we had been in the evening, the current drifting us back as far as, by beating, we had made with the wind.

We put into the Island of Portland, that we might see the newspapers; but though we had very severe weather after we left it, so thick, that we were obliged to keep our fog-horn sounding at night, and with heavy gales during the day, we did not think it prudent to run for shelter either into Plymouth or Falmouth. The Captain of the ship was on such bad terms with his crew, that some of them regretted, after they left Portland, that they had not given information of the nature of the cargo, and of the purpose for which it was in-

tended. Under these circumstances, we preferred, keeping the sea, to the risk which might be the consequence of running into harbour.

In crossing the Bay of Biscay we had some very heavy gales; the nights were generally thick and squally, but many of the days were very mild and fine. During the voyage, Captain Dickson informed me of so many interesting circumstances relative to Spain in general, but particularly Galicia, that I felt as if going to a country with which I was not unacquainted.

After a passage of about twenty-eight days, we arrived in the evening at the entrance to the Bay of Vigo, near the Bayonna Islands.

There was a storm of thunder and lightning as we approached the shores of Spain; but we, instead of hailing it as an omen of those valorous achievements which were to be performed by men, who, like ourselves, were seeking for adventure, looked out for some fishing-boat, that we might get intelligence about the army. We had, in the afternoon, hailed a Spanish vessel, but got no information; and we now took a fisherman on board to act as a pilot, if we should enter the Bay. In

answer to our inquiries, he said that Morillo was in the town of Vigo; that the French had been for two days in possession of all that part of the coast of Galicia which lay in the vicinity of the town; that Corunna still held out, and that the English General was still in the garrison.

Drawing an inference from the presence of an English General in the Spanish army, and the recollection of the former alliance between the two countries, the fisherman assured us that "England and France were at war with each other."

While we were speaking, it became very thick and gloomy, the rain descended heavily, the lightning flashed, and the thunder was rolling and echoing among the mountains; a part of the sky was dusky red, and every thing appeared to indicate an approaching tempest. The fisherman pointed out to us at a distance (we could see it but indistinctly in the gloom), a harbour with some vessels, which he said was frequented by contrabandistas (smugglers), and we could perceive that he supposed us to be some of the fraternity, as he smiled very significantly when he asked some questions about tobacco, and did not

find the answers satisfactory. The appearance of the sky was so threatening, that we deemed it prudent to take shelter for the night among the contrabandistas; but the fisherman asked some questions relative to the cargo, and we overheard one of our sailors telling him that we had arms and bullets for fighting the Frenchmen.

We were, of course, obliged to take our departure from the neighbourhood of Morillo, for it is evident that we could be no longer in security where we were. We put the fisherman on board his boat, which kept close alongside, and in a short time hailed another, and while buying crabs and *sardinias*, ascertained by his answers, that the statement which we had heard was a true one, as far as regarded the defence of Corunna, and the occupation of that part of the country by the French and *Facciosos!* We sailed immediately; the night was very dark, but less rough than we expected.

Our orders were, "if possible to open a communication with Sir Robert Wilson," and we determined to make an effort to run through the French squadron into Corunna, since we found it impossible to land the arms at Vigo,

or in its vicinity. Had Vigo not fallen into the hands of the French, we were to deposit the arms in the arsenal, under the care of the Political Chief; but they were to be distributed only according to the orders of Sir Robert Wilson.

Early in the morning of the following day, we passed Cape Finisterre, and in the evening arrived within sight of the light-house of Corunna. We saw some of the blockading fleet at an extreme distance; it became dark, our eyes strained on the light-house as long as it was possible to use it as a land-mark. At night it was not lighted, and we were obliged to "lay to," as our Captain would not venture to run for the harbour. The wind fell, it became a dead calm, but we hoped with the earliest light that we might be able to renew our effort.

At about twelve o'clock we went upon deck, and while we were engaged in discussing the probability of making way in the morning, (and our hopes were not very sanguine, in consequence of the appearance of the weather) we suddenly saw the blue lights of the French squadron, and heard the discharge of some guns in a few moments after. We instantly

extinguished the light in the binnacle, placed the compass at the feet of the helm's-man, and covered the grating of the skylight with a piece of sail-cloth.

There was no wind, but we tossed and reeled all night upon the swells, and drifted with a current. With the earliest dawn of the morning, we endeavoured to ascertain the situation of the enemy. I went aloft to the round-top, but for some time could not perceive a vessel in any direction; but at the very moment when I called down that they had retired so far that all was well, one of the sailors desired me to observe towards a part of the shore which was in deep gloom, the faint appearance of two vessels, and when the light broke more strongly, a *quechemarin* was discovered lying nearer than either of them to the mouth of the harbour.

It was still very nearly a dead calm, but the direction of the wind was from such a quarter, that we thought ourselves tolerably secure of escaping, and getting into Corunna whenever it should freshen. We set every sail that would draw, but for some hours we scarcely made any way, but continued to reel and toss upon the swells. During this time

we could perceive that although their distance was still very great, the two French ships were gaining on us by degrees, and that the *quechemarin* was standing in for the harbour, as it were to obstruct our entrance in case we should escape the others.

We had our studding-sails set, but they scarcely drew, and flapped without sensibly forwarding our motion, and we could perceive that the nearest French ship, in her efforts to keep close to the wind, often turned quite round, as if on a pivot. We looked eagerly to every cloud for a chance of a wind: the sailors whistled with their "Come, good breeze!" but after hoping for this in vain, our boat was ordered out, and we began to tow. For several hours the French ships were at such a distance, that the hull even of the nearest was not visible above the water; but at about half after eleven it began to emerge from our horizon.

When they first began to fire, instead of hoisting our flag, we spoke in derision, and said that the cabin-boy should hang out the table-cloth in compliment to their white ensign. We were then almost certain, that if the wind at all freshened we should effect our

entrance into the harbour, and be under shelter of the guns of the castle of Saint Antonio.

We made an agreement with the Captain, that for any damage his vessel might sustain by running for the harbour under the enemy's fire, he was to take our recommendation to the Spanish Committee for a liberal remuneration. We now hoisted our Union Jack, and fired a signal, as if for a pilot, hoping that they would send some gun-boats from the town to give the nearest war-brig occupation while we were effecting an entrance.

In some time we observed that the boat of the French ship was towing too, and that her sails drew so much better than our own, it was inevitable that we must be taken; she sometimes fired at us, and sometimes discharged guns from her larboard quarter, as signals to her consort. Our deck was silent and solitary; the crew were rowing; and like true English sailors, at the discharge of every gun, gave songs, and laughter, and shouts in return.

When the French vessel (the consort, we afterwards ascertained, was a Spanish Royalist) approached so nearly that the hope of our escaping was impossible, she hove round, and

placed us under her broadside, but did not fire; she sent her boat to board us, and her Lieutenant and some armed marines came upon our deck.

This gentleman did his duty with politeness and propriety; he was told (and we knew he did not believe it), that in consequence of rough weather, and a very long passage from England, we were going into Corunna for fresh provisions and water. He said that Corunna was blockaded, and had been bombarded; that all the women had been sent to Ferrol; that the fall of the town was inevitable, but the garrison was desperate; that the King of France, in the overflowing of his affectionate solicitude for the Spaniards, had not less than ten times implored of them to surrender. He said that the next bombardment would lay the town in ruins, and that those desperate men who had refused to accede to the terms which had been proposed to them, must be all cut to pieces when the town should be assaulted.

The Lieutenant gave an account of General Bourke, who commanded the French army before Corunna, which I thought an incomparable specimen of French exaggeration—"Le

grand General!" the great General Bourke was so unremittingly active, that he never lay down to rest, but slept sitting on horseback!!!

Our Captain went on board the French brig of war (Le Curieux, of eighteen guns), taking with him certain packets which were given him at one of the public offices at Gravesend, with orders to deliver them on his arrival at Gibraltar: there were official stamps on these packets, which indicated that they were sent "on His Britannic Majesty's service."

The French Captain affected to believe that we were merchants, and employed by the government that confided to us these dispatches; he appeared quite satisfied, said that Corunna was blockaded, but desired that we should go into Ferrol, and get whatever we wanted. So it ended.

CHAP. II.

FERROL.

Although all was at an end, yet under such circumstances as ours, the recommendation to go into Ferrol was equivalent to an order: we passed some ships of war at the mouth of the Ferrol river, and were obliged to "bring to," opposite the fort of Saint Philip. The French garrison had no right to obstruct the passage of English vessels at this point of the river, and our Vice-Consul Fernandez, took measures to prevent a repetition of such an exercise of authority.

Don Francisco Fernandez, the late Vice-Consul, and father to Don Antonio, who at present fills the office, was a particular friend of Captain Dickson's; he received us with kindness and hospitality, and his house was our home while we remained in Galicia.

Our first object was, if possible, to ascertain the situation of Corunna. We were informed that Sir Robert Wilson, General Quiroga, the commander in chief, and Vigo,

the governor had left it some time before; Sir Robert Wilson and the Governor, were said to be still in Galicia; engaged in raising soldiers; and Quiroga, who had been appointed by the government Captain-General of Ceuta, had been ordered to proceed to Cadiz with the greatest celerity.

It was said that a capitulation was expected in some days, as there was no hope of assistance, unless Sir Robert Wilson and Vigo could raise troops among the *Paysanos*, and make an attack on the army which was besieging the town.

A number of the inhabitants of Corunna had sent their families to Ferrol, and the Alameda was crouded on the evening of our landing. This beautiful walk, which is shaded by several rows of trees, is separated by a canal from the arsenal on one side, and on the other, the town rises abruptly on a hill. The bell of a convent was ringing for evening service, a French band was playing under the trees, the inhabitants and visitors were enjoying the promenade, and the Alameda exhibited at twilight a scene of peaceful repose.

The French had been for some weeks in

possession of Ferrol, and we found that they were detested beyond measure by the inhabitants. They had violated the terms on which they got possession of the town; the militia had been disarmed, they had destroyed the "lapida" (the constitutional stone), and although it had been solemnly stipulated that the public property was to be inviolable, they took from the arsenal a great number of cannon, which they sent to the very army which was laying siege to Corunna.

The Spaniards, and particularly (very much to their honor) the Spanish ladies, avoided associating with them, and it was impossible that any thing could indicate more powerfully the general sentiment of the people of Ferrol, than the appearance of the French officers on the public promenade.

In private, the invaders conducted themselves with great regularity: they knew that they were abhorred, and they were never free from the apprehension of some sudden insurrection. "You love the French; they are good people!" said a friend of mine jocularly and ironically to one of the townsmen.—"We do," was the reply, "as the devil loves things that are holy." The population of Galicia

amounts to one million three hundred thousand persons; the country possesses immense natural strength, and except in the capital, Saintiago, and one or two other dens of servilism and superstition, the vital spirit of the constitution is fervid and enthusiastic. Had there been but five hundred British soldiers in Galicia, as a *point d'appui* for the levies of the country, the French invaders would never have succeeded in gaining possession of the province.

I had heard it asserted in England, that the Spanish women were so much under the influence of the priesthood, that they were inveterately hostile to the establishment of the constitution—the very reverse is the case, at least in Galicia and Cadiz, for in both they are enthusiastic in their detestation of despotism. I saw a lady of Corunna at Ferrol on the Alameda; she had been for safety sent away from the siege by her brother, as she had insisted upon dressing in trowsers, and serving in the batteries. She was walking with a young Spaniard who had fought with the Guerillas; her deportment was high, her glance was a flash, and though she moved with the easy grace of a Spanish lady, her

light step was the very pacing of a soldier to the trumpet.

On the Sunday after our landing the French troops attended mass in the great church of Ferrol; they stood under arms in their ranks, and a loud clash of their arms and a rolling flourish beaten on their drums at the elevation of the Host, after the strains of the organ, and the chaunting, accorded well with the pomp and pageantry of the Roman Catholic ceremonies.

About this time I met an English gentleman who had come from Asturias; he told me that there were none of the French in that part of Spain, but that dreadful excesses were committed by the Royalists, who, whenever they acquired any political authority, perverted it to the purposes of private revenge. Their countrymen who were the victims of their violence and oppression, were eager for the presence even of the French to restrain their excesses.

The animosity between the two parties, the Constitutionalists and the Royalists, seems to have assumed a character of deadly rancour, and whenever the war shall break out again, I fear it will be a war of mutual extermination.

The priests appear to be the objects of the most direful hatred; the recollection of the horrors of the Inquisition is ever rather in identity than in association with the sacerdotal name; and to the clergy is attributed the most inveterate and steadily directed hostility to the diffusion of the principles of constitutional liberty.

While we were in a state of suspense and incertitude in consequence of our inability to open a communication with Sir Robert Wilson, we were obliged to take measures for the security of our vessel.

The French who were in possession of the town and of the forts on the Ferrol river, knew as well as we did ourselves, what we had on board, and our purposes; but we openly went through the form of manifestation at the custom-house. Some of the Authorities made an order that we should leave the harbour the moment we should get water, provisions, and ballast; but Mr. Bartlet, the English Consul-General, with a laudable zeal for the British interest, insisted with spirit upon our right of remaining. We took no notice whatever of the order of the Authorities. Whether our Consul-General and our Vice-Consul penetrated our

purposes, or were unacquainted with our intentions, is not a point for me to decide on; but they both very honorably performed their public duty, by recognizing our ship only as an English vessel regularly cleared out at the custom-house of London, and by preventing the French Authorities from exercising any power which they were not warranted in assuming.

We often looked with exultation at our vessel, lying securely in the very midst of our enemies; and on the day of some festival, the French ships of war dressed in all their colours, entered the harbour, and fired a salute; and we marked our flag floating gallantly amidst the smoke of their guns.

Captain Dickson was well known as an ardent Constitutionalist; he had given many proofs of his attachment to the cause while he resided in Galicia; among others, he had effected the escape of Lopez, who had been secretary to General Porlier, and an officer in his regiment.

The following was the manner of the escape: a lady went one evening to his house in Coruna, and said, that although unacquainted with him personally, yet as she well knew his political sentiments, she had ventured to

introduce herself and confide a secret to his honor. She then told him that Lopez had been for some months secreted in her house; that a price had been set upon his head, and that he implored of Signor Saintiago (Captain Dickson), to concert some means for his escaping. Captain Dickson went to see him, and found him concealed in an upper apartment; he had been for eight months in this situation, and he was pale and wasted by confinement and care. During this interview, when his visitor asked him if he had firmness enough to second a plan for his liberation, he professed his readiness to act in any manner which should be prescribed. In two days after he was brought through the gate of Corunna, which leads to Santa Lucia, while some soldiers who had known him were upon duty as a guard. His companion, while he walked by his side, seemed to amuse himself with his dog, which diverted in some degree the attention of the soldiers; and Lopez, half disguised, and altered by his confinement, passed out of the town without attracting any notice. Arrangements had been made with the Captain of an English brig, who sent his boat to the beach, at some distance from Co-

runna. Lopez was taken on board, and was out of the harbour in less than an hour.

A short time after this occurred, Don [illegible] said to Lopez's liberator—"They are bending down our heads, bending them nearly, very nearly to the ground (he bent down his own head while he was speaking); but before they quite touch the earth, we will make an effort to recover ourselves, and (this part was spoken with corresponding action), we will stand upright!"

Although we were invested with a discretionary power of acting according to the necessity resulting from circumstances which could not be foreseen, our orders were most specific, if possible to open a communication with Sir Robert Wilson. At the period of which I am writing, we were in utter ignorance of the place to which he had retired; a thousand rumours were afloat, but they varied with every hour; and every thing was involved in obscurity and incertitude.

It was reported that he and the Governor of Vigo, when they were about to depart from Corunna, had taken a solemn oath to the Council, that they would return by a certain day; it was said by some that they were

among the mountains of Orenza, and that they had succeeded in collecting an army of eight thousand men, and that an attack upon the French might be expected every hour.

The true state of Corunna was but little known at Ferrol, and Captain Dickson came one day to ask my opinion on a plan which he had in contemplation. He told me that he intended to disguise himself as a "*Paysano*," to stain his face to the tinge of their general complexion, to speak the *Galliego*, (the dialect of the Galicians) and make an effort to pass into Corunna through the French lines. If the Governor should give his opinion that the stores which were on board the vessel, could contribute essentially to the defence of the town, we should, in that case, make another attempt to escape the French squadron, and be the hazard what it might, to take chance for the consequences.

I told him in reply, that engaged as we were in the service of the Constitutionalists, I could not allow any consideration for his life to influence my opinion on a point of our duty; but then, I desired him to recollect the extraordinary situation in which we stood at the moment, with a cargo of arms among the

French, who well knew that we were enemies; that therefore all those advantages which he possessed in Galicia—confidential friends, knowledge of the country, facility of correspondence, and intimate acquaintance with the details of business, were indispensably requisite to render the donation of England available for the purposes which were intended by the subscribers; but that if he were to be shot by the French, or even made prisoner, the political loss of the vessel would be the inevitable consequence.

As a mere mercantile concern, I told him that I might save it; but that the boon of England was not to be estimated by its marketable value. I finally gave my opinion, that we should all at once make the effort to get into Corunna, and unless we were escorted, after passing the French ships, by keeping close to the Bay of Batanzos, try a run for the harbour.

Captain Dickson objected, as he feared that the report of an intended Capitulation was probable, even if we should effect an entrance by running under the fire of the French vessels; the arms would be lost if the town were to be surrendered.

While this plan was under our consideration, we heard that a Truce had been made between the besiegers and the garrison, and we devised another plan, by which we got into Corunna.

It was said in Galicia, that the expence of supporting the French army in Spain was forty thousand pounds a day: whether this calculation was, or was not accurate, I do not pretend to determine; but I consider it important to note what was generally believed, inasmuch as it formed one of the elements of the calculations on the probability of the duration of the presence of those brigands in the country.

Why does England permit this atrocious violation of our National Independence? was a question very frequently asked; and it was a question to which it was very far from agreeable, to be obliged to reply.

PLAN
of
CORUNNA
DRAWN from MEMORY
for the Writer of the Notes by
Colonel Light
French
Spanish
Troops
Spa Troops
Orzan
Sandy Beach
Gardens
St Lucia
Road to Betanzos
Citadel
CORUNNA BAY

CHAP. III.

CORUNNA.

" La Guarnicion de la Coruña cumplio con su deber."
MILITARY DIARY OF CORUNNA.

August 18, 1823.

We got the passport of the Consul-General, and the regular course would have been to get it countersigned by the French Commandant; but as an application for this purpose would have only exposed us to ridicule, we determined rather to take the chance of succeeding without his signature, than the certainty of a refusal, if the application were to be made. We got into a small boat, muffled ourselves in such a manner as to appear as little as possible remarkable as foreigners, and instead of keeping the right of the river near Fort Saint Philip, or even the middle, we sailed down close under a small battery at the opposite side. The French sentinel challenged, and asked where we were going: we did not ap-

pear to take much notice of him, and an answer was, as it were, sullenly muttered, "*ici, ici*"—(here, here). He was either not very vigilant, or supposed, from the indifference with which we appeared to answer his challenge, that we must have had regular passports for going out of the river.

In the fort of Saint Philip, at the opposite side, there were thirty ill-fated Frenchmen, officers and soldiers, close prisoners; they had joined the Constitutional army; had taken refuge in Portugal, and had been infamously given up by those in whose protection they had confided. It was said that they were to be shot in some days after.

There were five or six French frigates and Royalist gun-brigs, and two *quechemarins*, at the Cape Priorina side of the entrance to the Ferrol river. We kept close to the rocks at the side towards Batanzos, and as small boats like ours were constantly passing, they did not take the trouble of examining us with their telescopes. We kept along the shore, as if going towards Batanzos, but when we had got so far clear of the frigates that we could not be captured, we suddenly changed our course, and stood across for Corunna.

As we approached the harbour, we hoisted the British flag, and were hailed by the guard on the ramparts of Fort Saint Antonio. This castle is built on a rocky island, at a little distance from the town; it is used as the place of confinement of state prisoners, and forms a very important part of the fortifications by which the harbour is defended. It had been battered by the French frigates a few days before our arrival, and the upper part had sustained some injury from the fire of their cannon. An old Spanish Colonel came on board at the Castle, attended by an orderly, and on our landing at the town, he attended us to the quarters of the Commandant Novella. Theran the Governor was present at our introduction. Captain Dickson pleaded private business as our motive for going to Corunna, and no allusion was made to the real object, as it was necessary, first, to ascertain whether it was not already determined that the town should capitulate.

After leaving the General and the Governor, we went to find Captain Mackenzie, of the Corunna rifle corps, who was on duty at the side of the town next the army of the besiegers. He brought us through a small gate

to the outworks, where the Spanish soldiers were on the alert at their posts, and he pointed out to us the ground on which the battle had been fought in which Sir Robert Wilson was wounded. At this time Sir Robert had been serving as a volunteer in the Spanish army, and his gallantry and utter disregard of personal danger, were the theme of universal admiration both at Ferrol and Corunna.

From the ramparts we proceeded to Colonel Light's quarters, and were very sorry to find him suffering with acuteness, in consequence of the state of his wound, and the painful apprehension, that in another day he might be made prisoner. His situation was one of peculiar interest; he was Sir Robert Wilson's Aid-de-camp; he had displayed gallantry in the battle, and he was severely wounded after its termination. He was fired at by some French soldiers while endeavouring to persuade some of the Biscayan volunteers to retire for safety into the town, from under the arches of the aqueduct near the walls of Corunna. General Quiroga, who commanded in chief in the engagement, has since spoken of him to me in the most flattering terms. While we sat by his bed-side, we had

a long conversation on the state of Galicia; and the misfortune of being without some British soldiers, was dwelt on very strongly. There never was a time when men could be found more easily; I had, myself, at Colonel Grant's request, made inquiries in Ireland, about the facility of raising soldiers, and I found that they could be induced (I must not say to *enlist*), to come whenever they might be wanted, in almost any numbers.

After we took our leave of Colonel Light, a large party dined together, and the occurrences of the siege formed, as may be easily imagined, the principal subjects of our conversation:—the battle and sortie, and the bombardment*; the dreadful effect of the incendiary balls, and the atrocious conduct of the French, who always directed the fire of their artillery wherever they observed a conflagration, that the townsmen might be deterred from attempting its extinction. We spoke of the heroic spirit of the women who attended the soldiers with refreshments, brought them wine to the ramparts, assisted in extinguishing the flames of the houses, and

* See the Appendix, for an official account of the battle and bombardment.

joined in songs and in dances in the midst of the danger. The fervid patriotism of Quiroga, by whom the defence had been organized, was highly praised; his generosity to De Rochemont, who repaid the boon of kindness with complicated infamy; his reception in Galicia after his defence of the Isle of Leon, when at a splendid fête in Ferrol he was drawn through the town in a triumphal car.

The conduct of the Baron de Rochemont deserves well to be recorded. He had been taken prisoner by a Spanish vessel; and at the suggestion of Sir Robert Wilson, who supposed him a man of honor, General Quiroga granted him his liberty, and confided to his care Madam Quiroga and his child. The Baron gave solemn assurances that he would bring them to England, but induced the sailors of the Spanish vessel to put into L'Orient, where the lady of his benefactor and her child were made prisoners. The French government aspired very successfully to a participation in the infamy—the lady of the liberator of De Rochemont was treated with brutality.

An explosion of a waggon load of gunpowder near the convent of the Augustines, killed several men, gave many others bruises

and contusions, destroyed some houses, and shattered innumerable windows and partitions by the violence of the concussion. Captain Mackenzie told us that he was standing in one of the galleries of the convent, was thrown down by the shock, and lay for some moments in a state of insensibility; his sword-belt was torn, and his sword carried away to a considerable distance. On reviving, he saw a number of dead men and mules lying scattered about in different directions, and in his confusion he jumped out of the gallery down upon the ground.

Soon after this event occurred, Donna Isadora, who has obtained celebrity as the sharer in the glories of the Duke of Wellington's campaigns, afforded a very interesting example of fearless and gallant spirit, in combination with the feminine solicitude for the preservation of those charms by which she is said to have led the hero in captivity through the very fields of his victories—She retired from Corunna to Ferrol, and said to one of her friends, "I did not regard the balls or the shells; but when I found them acting with so much carelessness in the town, that I might be maimed or disfigured, I came away." It

was a sweet reply, and well befitting a lady who possessed beauty as well as spirit.

The Biscayans were the pride of the Constitutional army: while they retreated upon Corunna through their own country and Asturias, they carried on a harassing Guerilla warfare with the army of the invaders; and in the battle they had fought with distinguished gallantry. They sometimes went out at night in boats, and brought vegetables from the gardens of the suburb of Saint Lucia, which they distributed in the morning as presents to the market-women. Their adventures on these occasions were not always bloodless: they one night had a rencontre with sixteen French officers, some of whom were killed, and they frequently had flying skirmishes in these nocturnal excursions.

The desperate sally made by the raw volunteers was spoken of in terms of the highest praise. It was made with such fury, that the French were driven back from the vicinity of the glacis to the wind-mills on the hills. The gun-boats Terror and Alcon fired double-headed shot, which sometimes took down several men together, as the enemy descended in a dense column.

After dinner, Captain Dickson and Captain Mackenzie went together to the house of the Governor, who made inquiry of the latter, how far he might venture to speak before the stranger; and Mackenzie, who is a brave officer, and a staunch Constitutionalist, gave him assurances of such a nature, that he laid aside all reserve. He said, "that a Capitulation was inevitable; that they had no hope that the siege could be raised by any army abroad; that Ballesteros had surrendered, and that it would be vain to attempt to hold out any longer." When Mackenzie expressed some doubt of the accuracy of the account of Ballesteros having made terms, the Governor replied, "That it was true as that the lamp was lighting upon the table." He then said, "What can we do? We have no hope of succour from abroad, and as we do not expect that the siege can be raised, to protract the defence would be but to convert the town into ruins; by another bombardment to injure the property of private individuals, to sacrifice the lives of soldiers, and yet ultimately we must be compelled to surrender to the enemy."

Captain Dickson inquired if the garrison was in want of any thing which might be ne-

cessary for the defence of the town? but made no allusion to the object with which he asked the question. The Governor replied, "No, they had every thing in abundance, but in consequence of the causes he had assigned, a Capitulation was inevitable."

The conference ended. We remained that night in Corunna, and as we did not know the moment when Morillo might make his entrance, we determined on returning to Ferrol the following morning. We congratulated ourselves on our good fortune, in falling in with the war-brig, which by preventing us from getting into Corunna, saved the arms for the Constitutionalists of some other part of Spain.

CHAP. IV.

FERROL.

We returned to Ferrol without any interruption; the day was wet and gloomy, and we passed the French ships at the mouth of the river without attracting observation.

In two days after our departure from Corunna Morillo made his entry. It is said that he appeared to be violently incensed at his reception, for there was not a single "*viva*;" and I was informed, that as he rode through one of the streets, he spoke in terms of gross brutality to a young lady who was standing in a balcony; applying to her a term of the most degrading insult, and asking why there was no drapery suspended from the windows.

On taking possession of the town, he made inquiry where Sir Robert Wilson had retired to; and designating him by a very coarse appellation, said it had been well if he was shot in the head and not in the thigh.

I made very particular inquiry of one who had the best possible opportunity of knowing

Morillo while his character was in its developement; and his opinion of that personage was just what I expected. He commenced his career as a corporal of marines; he was described to me as a man of desperate bravery, but so remorseless in prosecuting his speculations of selfish aggrandizement, that he would pour torrents of blood to gratify the workings of his aspiring ambition. His manners are said to be in the last degree savage and repulsive.

Among the rumours which were circulated at Ferrol after the surrender of Corunna, that one which appeared to attract the greatest attention, was a report that at Burgos the priests and monks had made efforts to excite discontent against the Duke of Angoulême and the Regency. A body of French cavalry marched from Ferrol: their orders were said to be for Villafranca, but it was generally supposed that their destination would be Burgos, either to repress any disturbance, or to prevent it by their presence.

It was reported, that at Orenza forty of the *Facciosos* had been taken from their beds, and butchered in cold blood; but this horrible story was never confirmed; it was probably

invented to throw odium on the Constitutionalists.

It was said, that even within a few miles of Corunna, a party of the French had been surprised and annihilated by a band of Guerillas. I do not pledge myself for the truth or falsehood of any of these rumours, but it is interesting that I should advert to them, for rumours which are not discredited the moment they originate, are powerful indications of the spirit of the time.

I have said before, that our orders were, "if possible to open a communication with Sir Robert Wilson;" some reports stated that he had returned to England; others that he had been made prisoner at Lisbon; some said that he had sailed directly for Gibraltar; but the most generally received opinion was, that he was still in Galicia. We hoped that when communications should be opened with the interior after the Capitulation of Corunna, we might be able to get some intelligence, either through Colonel Light or the Vice-Consul. In this hope we were deceived; no intelligence arrived, and we made preparations for leaving Ferrol and sailing for Gibraltar. We were anxious in the extreme to bring Colonel Light

with us from Corunna, but he was not sufficiently recovered to attempt a removal.

About this time the gallant officer Colonel Campillo, and many of the Constitutionalists of Galicia, who refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Regency, were sent prisoners to France. Their fate was deplored with bitterness in the country from which they departed.

While we were preparing to sail for Gibraltar several of the Constitutionalists came from Corunna to Ferrol, rejoiced to have an opportunity of getting a passage, and of leaving the country where Morillo had the command.

After parting from our kind and hospitable friend Fernandez, we took on board in the harbour of Ferrol a lady, niece to the Duke del Parque, her child, and a priest, her confessor; Colonel Don Jose D'Ovando, a relation of the Duke San Lorenzo, and Commandant of the Battaglia Sagrada of Corunna, a corps composed entirely of officers; Captain Mackenzie; some Biscayan gentlemen of the Bilboa Volunteers; and the Captain of a small fortress in the vicinity of Corunna. The Biscayans had fought as Guerillas during their retreat on Corunna, and distinguished them-

selves by their gallantry during the continuance of the siege; they did not dare to trust themselves near Morillo, and if they returned home, they would have been inevitably murdered by the *Facciosos*. We had a second cabin fitted up by the ship's carpenter, between the steerage and the cases of arms; a platform was laid about five feet below the deck, and compartments for beds and mattresses were formed all round. The lady and her child had the private apartment of the Captain.

If any of the gentlemen who took refuge on board the vessel had been unable to pay the Captain for their passage, we would without hesitation have paid it, and drawn on the Committee; for we were well assured that every member of that body would be rejoiced, when he knew that their ship was the asylum of the Constitutionalists.

Two circumstances occurred while we were at Ferrol, which perhaps are not unworthy of noting: An uncle of Morillo, who bears the same name, was stationed on board the Iris, as officer of the custom-house, during the entire time we remained in Galicia. The other circumstance is remarkable, as the French Authorities knew our purposes as well as we

did ourselves: on the fête of St. Louis, a grand ball and supper were given by the French General and Officers of the garrison, and we received invitations. Captain Dickson was not well, Mr. Chinery would not go alone, and I happened to be in no mood for revelry.

An arrangement had been made that we were to sail slowly out of the harbour, down the Ferrol river, and to take those on board who should approach us with a particular signal. After we had glided down beyond the fortress of Saint Philip, we observed a boat shooting from among the rocks to the right, at the foot of the steep and rugged hill. She displayed the crimson handkerchief, which had been agreed on as a signal, and in a few moments after, a Spaniard who sat at her stern, flung up his baggage over the bulwark and hurried through the gangway. We still glided slowly down, but when we had so far passed the entrance to the river, that no one else was to be expected, we crowded sail, and retreated as rapidly as we could from the vicinity of Morillo.

We had been for near three weeks among the French and Royalists, who were in possession of Ferrol. We lamented that Colonel

Light was not the companion of our voyage, but we hoped that we might soon meet him, wherever we ourselves should be on service.

One of the Biscayans, when he found himself on board a British ship, and on the open sea, exclaimed to his companions, "Who in the world are now more free than we are? in this ship we are as free as the very air!" *(los aieres.)*

CHAP. V.

VOYAGE TO GIBRALTAR.

For three days the wind was fair as it could blow, right aft; and during the entire time of our voyage to Gibraltar, the weather was very fine.

During the day we passed the time as men generally do under such circumstances: we discussed politics, and concentrated all our hopes in the defence of Cadiz, and the glorious struggle made by Mina in Catalonia. We spoke of the fervid spirit of the Constitution in Galicia; read the military *Diario* of the operations of the army, and a thousand commentaries were made by those who had been engaged in the battle, the sortie, and the other incidents of the siege.

The Biscayans sometimes clustered on the spars and folded sails that filled the long-boat, and read or slept for hours together. They sometimes swam alongside, or fired with their fusees at the sea-gulls and gannets. They

all took the siesta in the afternoon, when we had dined. At night they generally collected upon deck and sang duets and trios; many of the songs were political,—the celebrated "Tràgala," and others; many of the airs were original Biscayan, and the words in the *Basque*, the peculiar dialect, or rather language of the Biscayans. Some of the airs were spirited, and others were mournful; the cadence of one was of dreary and melancholy wildness.

At this time we were quite uncertain what might be our ultimate destination after we should arrive at Gibraltar: we expected that we should there find new orders, either from the Spanish Committee, or from Sir Robert Wilson. We hoped that we might be sent to join Mina in Catalonia, and the Biscayans promised to join us, let us go where we would.

I had an opportunity of remarking during this voyage, one of the finest instances I remember, of magnificent action: I was reading the Spanish account of the siege of Corunna, to one of the Biscayans, who was explaining to me in French, a passage which I did not understand. The Spaniard whom we had taken on board from among the rocks near St.

Philip, was standing near us; he took the papers from my hand, and pointed out to me a passage in which a particular service was said to have been performed by a particular officer. He gave me back the papers, stooped forward, placed both his hands upon his breast together, looked at me steadily, and said in a low voice, that it was not the officer, that it was he who had done it. He stood upright; his dark eyes flashed from his sallow front; he flung his arms high above his head, and then stalked down the deck, still keeping his face turned towards me, that I might mark the "*Io*" (I) by whom the deed had been performed. The Confessor, who was a "Liberal," although a priest, was generally kept engaged in a Guerilla warfare of polemical controversy by his countrymen, and I am afraid that in these flying skirmishes, Holy Mother Church was not always treated with the greatest reverence.

One day* about noon, the wind blew so gently and so steadily, and the sea was so smooth, that as we glided forward, we were almost insensible of our motion. Some of the Spaniards were reading on the deck and in

* September 8.

the long-boat; some were sleeping; Captain Dickson and the Captain of the ship had prepared the quadrants for an observation; some of the Biscayans had their fusees and were on the look-out for sea-gulls; Colonel D'Ovando and I had chalked a chess-board on the poop; and the lady and some of the Spaniards were overlooking our game. While thus engaged, we suddenly heard a cannonade from the side of the shore; the Spaniards started up from their reading and sleeping, and a shout of exultation burst on the moment. We knew by the cannonading that Cadiz had not surrendered. Don Jose D'Ovando sprang from the poop, on which he was lying, and ordered wine to be brought upon deck, and we all drank his toast of "*Viva la Constituccion!*"

During the whole day we heard, from time to time, the discharge of the cannon, and a thousand speculations were the consequence of the inference which was drawn from the firing at Cadiz. In the evening, about sunset, the wind freshened, and was again right aft; our studding-sails were set, and we swept rapidly forward: the cannonading still continued, and at every heavy discharge a shout of triumph was raised upon our deck. Seve-

ral had collected at the larboard bow, some straining their eyes towards the side of Cadiz, and others with telescopes, although nothing could be seen but the sky and the water in the direction of the firing. Cape Trafalgar was in view before us, and the mountains of Africa were visible on our right.

One of the Biscayans sat upon the prow with his face to the stern; he held a fusee, with which he had been firing at the sea-birds; two of his companions sprang up and stood beside him, and on the moment, their war-song burst in a trio—

"Avanzad, avanzad, Companeros,
Con las armas al hombro avanzad,
Libertad para siempre, clamando;
Libertad, Libertad, Libertad!"

CHAP. VI.

GIBRALTAR.

September 9.

We anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar after midnight; in the morning the boat of health came alongside: the usual questions were asked and answered, and we expected the order for landing in a few hours after.

To our utter astonishment, we heard in the course of the day, that we should not be permitted to land upon the Rock, nor even on the Neutral Ground; but that we might go, if we chose, to Algeziras, at the other side of the Bay. To go to Algeziras would have been, to the Spaniards at least, to go to destruction; it had been for some time in the hands of the Royalists under O'Donnell.

The British subjects who were on board were kept for two days and an half without permission to enter a British town, and the ill-fated Spaniards, to whom we had vaunted the hospitality of England, were kept prisoners (for so it was virtually) for four entire days.

Our ship was regularly cleared out in London for Gibraltar, and of course the Authorities had no right to interfere with a British vessel under such circumstances, much less to dare to exercise such a despotic power as that of preventing British subjects from entering a town which, politically speaking, was as much a part of England as the Island of Portland.

The Voast cutter had arrived a little time before. Imprudent disclosures had been made by some who were on board her, relative to their own purposes; but we were regularly cleared out in London, and we violated no forms; with us the Government or "misrule" of Gibraltar had no right to interfere. A council was held in the garrison, for the purpose of deciding whether the ship and cargo, together with the Voast cutter, and the gunpowder, arms, &c. &c. which were on board her, should not be confiscated. The "grave and learned Seigniors of the Council" of Gibraltar sagely decided for a seizure, without reference to the date of a particular proclamation; but Sir William A'Court, who was consulted on the occasion, showed them that the proclamation was issued subsequently to the time

of our sailing. I abominate the "*servilism*" of Sir William A'Court's Spanish politics; but I must in justice acknowledge, that as far as we were concerned, he acted honorably, and like a gentleman.

I have already said, that the unfortunate Spainards were not permitted to land for four days—the French, the Facciosos, the Pirates and Smugglers might enter the town; to them there was no obstruction.

Mr. Elliot, who was on board the cutter, was not permitted to go ashore for ten days or a fortnight. The wisdom and consistency with which the Town-Major, Fellows, a King's-Advocate, whose name is not worth the trouble of writing down, and Lord Chatham, acted, in respect to Mr. Elliot, deserve to be recorded, as a negative example of good government. Mr. Elliot's crime and punishment were the following: On arriving at Gibraltar (not imagining that so base an advantage would be taken of words let fall without consideration), he stated himself to be Sir Robert Wilson's Aid-de-camp, and was ordered on board his vessel. For about ten days or a fortnight he was prevented from entering a British town.

The conduct of these three (and for aught I either know or care, of General Don) will burst upon the reader in all its lustre, when he is informed that Sir Robert Wilson himself had but a short time been a resident in the garrison, from whence he had gone to Cadiz in company with General Quiroga!

On the day following the night of our arrival, when our Captain returned on board from the Town-Major's office, and told us that there was an absolute prohibition of our landing, the indignation of the Spaniards was unmeasured. We ourselves, it may be supposed, were not in the very best temper. On the second night of our imprisonment I went late upon deck, and found Don Jose D'Ovando alone, pacing backward and forward. He spoke in terms of astonishment and indignation; he said that the most despotic government of Europe could not treat himself and his unhappy countrymen with greater harshness; and that if they had gone among the Turks, they could not have given them a reception more inhospitable.

The most perfect example of politeness that I remember to have read of, was that of a Spaniard, a King of Spain to a Prince of Eng-

land: Philip the Fourth took the left of the Prince of Wales every where except in Charles's own suite of apartments in the Royal palace of Madrid: "Here," said the King, "I take the right, because here you are at home." The present English government of Gibraltar courteously inverts this principle, and makes the Spaniards remember that they are not at home in their own country.

"Is this neutrality; is this the English hospitality you vaunted to us; is this the asylum that you promised us with so much confidence?" This was said by the Spaniards in bitterness of spirit, when we visited them after our liberation.

During the time of our confinement on board the vessel, Mr. Llewelyn and Captain B—k performed all the offices of kindness; they came to visit us, and gave us their assistance in the communications which were necessary to be made with those who were exercising the functions of authority.

About this time Lord Cochrane's squadron arrived off Lisbon from Brasil; and a son of Sir Robert Wilson, who was one of his Lordship's officers, came to Gibraltar, where he hoped to meet his father. He heard at the

same time the deeply affecting news, that his father had been wounded, and that his mother was dead.

No communication had been received at Gibraltar from Sir Robert Wilson himself from the time of his departure, but we knew that he had escaped the blockading squadron; that he had got into Cadiz, and that he had been appointed by the Spanish Government to the command of the Cortadura and half the island of Leon. A variety of complex negotiations were entered into for the purpose of protecting the property confided to us, and all these negotiations, so laborious and vexatious, were effected with singular zeal and judgment by Captain Dickson. I am in the habit of making use of the plural we, but I request it may not be imagined that I suppose myself to participate in the credit to which my friend is solely entitled.

It would be by no means entertaining to the reader, to wade through the details of non-military transactions; although to us at the time they were intensely interesting. We found it necessary, for some particular purposes, to request of Mr. Duguid, a most respectable merchant to whom we consigned

the vessels, to advertise the gunpowder and arms for public sale. English, Constitutionalists, Greeks, Moors, Turks, Smugglers, French, and *Facciosos*, might make offers; but it was not therefore to follow that a sale should be concluded.

It was not until about noon on the third day after our anchoring in the Bay, that we were permitted to land; but the time for which we were allowed to remain in the town was only four days. The Spaniards were still prevented from coming ashore, and it may be very well conceived, that when we had to take leave of them for the day, it was a painful ceremony. Their situation was desolate, and it was very easy to perceive the excess to which they were affected. Mr. Elliot, who was on board the cutter, as he was not permitted to go into the town, went to live in the Iris.

I had the pleasure of being introduced in Gibraltar, to some of the Officers of the 64th Regiment, who had been educated at Cambridge; and when we took wine together, the Rev. Professor Farish, the Rev. Mr. Crawley, the President of Magdalen, the Rev. Professor Sedgewick, and the Rev. Mr. Peacock of Trinity, were not forgotten.

Soon after we were permitted to land, a conversation occurred, which indicates very forcibly the opinion formed in the town of the conduct of the Government. A Spanish merchant, to whom I was one day speaking, said to an Algerine, that I was one of the "Ingleses" who had been prevented from landing, and asked if they treated people so badly at Algiers? The Moor placed his finger before his face, shook his head and his hand very expressively, and answered simply but forcibly, "No, no!"

While we were engaged in the arrangements with the merchant to whom we had consigned the stores, we were informed on good authority, that a supply of gunpowder was much wanted by the garrison of Cadiz. The Voast cutter had been consigned by the Spanish Committee to the care of Captain Dickson, and we expected to fall in with her in one of the ports of Galicia, if our plans had not been frustrated by the occupation of Vigo.

At the period of which I am writing, Gibraltar was extremely interesting: it was the focus of political intelligence from all parts of Spain; and the news of every other country

was well known through an abundant supply of English newspapers. A thousand lying reports (technically called "shaves,") were at the same time originated and circulated; and "what is the shave of the day?" was the common question, in allusion to the predominance of falshood in the accounts that were propagated. I shall here give some of the Gibraltar news, just as we heard it at the time.

It was said that a thousand men had been killed at the taking of the Trochadero, and it was feared that the loss of a point of so much importance, with such a dreadful carnage would have a most disastrous influence on the cause of the Constitutionalists. In one or two days after, it was confidently asserted that Sir Robert Wilson had re-taken the Trochadero, and was appointed to the command. There was an account that Riego had cut to pieces a large body of French lancers, and that he joined the army of Ballesteros immediately after. There were accounts of brilliant successes obtained by Mina in Catalonia, and it was said that the Empecinado had cut off the communication between Cadiz and Madrid. It was believed that an armistice had been concluded at Cadiz, and that the Duke

of Angouleme was "heartily sick" of the Regency of the Capital. It was told us that Santi Petri had most certainly been taken; this was again contradicted, but it was stated that the French had erected a battery at the opposite side of the river, and that the entrance at Santi Petri was within the range of their fire. We were informed that as the French blockading ships carried lanterns, the Spaniards who attempted to get into Cadiz, as a judicious "*ruse de guerre*," carried lanterns too.

The accounts from Ceuta were deplorable; the garrison wanted almost every thing; and about two thousand unhappy convicts were said to be absolutely starving. General Quiroga had been appointed by the Cortes, Captain-General of Ceuta, but in consequence of the state of the garrison, he had never taken the command. Ordonnez held Tariffa for the Constitutionalists; and O'Donnell was at Algeziras with a garrison of Royalists. While we listened to all the different stories that were in circulation, we had business enough on hands to keep us constantly occupied.

The arms on board the Iris were transferred to a store-ship, the cutter remaining in

her station with her cargo and guns. It was necessary to make the transfer in the Bay, as neither gunpowder nor arms are allowed at Gibraltar to be placed in the stores of any private merchant; and we had some very good reasons (as may be easily supposed) for not chusing to lodge them in the stores of the government.

The negotiations in which we were engaged at this time, were of the utmost importance to the interests of the Committee; yet if they were mentioned without explanation, they would appear to be the very contrary. I give, as an instance, the advertisement of the two cargoes for public sale, and a request of the merchant to whom we had consigned them to sell some small portion, for instance, five or six muskets.

While we were at Gibraltar, there was a skirmish at the lines, between four hundred armed and mounted contrabandistas (smugglers) and some of the Army of the Faith, who attempted to oppose them. The cry of the smugglers was "*Viva la Constituccion!*" but these worthy gentlemen would have shouted "*Viva el Rey absoluto,*" in five minutes after, if it answered their purpose.

The grand attack upon Cadiz by sea and by land, was now every day expected; the Trochadero had fallen, and the fall of Santi Petri was to be apprehended very soon. The loss of this fort would be irreparable, as it commanded the entrance of the river, by which communication was kept open by those vessels which escaped the blockading fleet.

We had no absolute orders from Sir Robert Wilson; but we had intelligence which was equivalent to the most positive command. We had been not only informed on very good authority, that a supply of gunpowder was much wanted by the garrison, but that some thousand English muskets and bayonets would be also very acceptable. Under circumstances like these, we could have no hesitation in forming our decision, that as the grand attack upon the town was hourly to be expected, it was our duty to make an effort to break the French blockade. We considered Cadiz to be the very life-blood of the Spanish Cause, and that no subordinate object should be contemplated for a moment, while a question arose in which its defence was concerned.

We knew perfectly well, that if Cadiz were to fall, the war, for the present, would come

to a termination. We assumed a heavy responsibility, but as Sir Robert Wilson himself had made the attempt to get into Cadiz, and had succeeded, we hoped that the course which we agreed on would not be disapproved of by the Committee for which we were acting.

I beg to be permitted to state, as one of our principles of action, that we were then, and on every other occasion, accustomed to estimate what we had in charge, not as so many thousand stand of arms, so many hundred barrels of gunpowder, &c., but on a more expanded principle, and we called them so many thousand stand of *British* arms, for so we were in the habit of estimating their political importance.

There was a Xebeque schooner in the Bay, one of these vessels so felicitously named Mysticals, an admirable sailer; her owner was an Algerine, and an agreement was made with him for taking her to Cadiz. He was to get eight hundred dollars for the use of his vessel; this was to cover every contingency, for if she were to be sunk or taken, he was to have no claim on the Committee for any compensation. The sum was enormous, but we deemed the importance of what we were engaged in, far

more than equivalent. The Xebeque was to be chartered under the English flag, and we cleared out for Saint Lucar, which was in possession of the French. We got letters to some of the merchants of that town, as if we wanted to dispose of our cargo to the military occupants. It was not our intention that the expence of the freight should fall upon the Committee. We expected that the Spanish Government would very gladly pay the port charges and all other expences, on our arrival at Cadiz, and the Captain had orders not to deliver the cargo to the Government until he should be paid.

We crammed the Xebeque with as much as she could carry: fifty barrels of gunpowder, five hundred muskets and bayonets, some military clothing and military accoutrements. If the wind should become unfavourable, we were to stop at Tariffa, under the protection of Ordonnez, the Governor; and in case we were to meet with any of the French ships under particular circumstances, which were specified, we were to anchor off the African shore until we should perceive that we had an opportunity of pursuing our destination.

I should have mentioned, that the Captain

of the Iris, although he had made a specific agreement to take our recommendation in writing for general remuneration, insisted now upon our giving him bills. The remuneration was to be for returning out of his course from Vigo to Corunna, for remaining at Ferrol, and for demurrage at Gibraltar, &c. He did not deny that he had made an agreement to take our recommendation to the Committee; but knowing that he had us in his power, he now insisted upon getting bills, and threatened to give formal information to the worthy Major Fellows, of the nature of our purposes, if we refused to comply.

The necessity of the case, which was one of extremity, compelled us to submit; it was no time for mooting points of minor importance, while we had such an object as ours in contemplation. If he had given information upon oath, as he threatened, there would have been at the least inevitable delay, and (politically speaking) we considered any delay as perfectly equivalent to the loss of the arms.

While we were making our preparations for sailing, the Tribune frigate was at anchor at Europa Point; she sometimes sent out a rowing guard, and we were by no means free

from apprehension that we might meet with some difficulty if we happened to encounter any of her boats while engaged on this duty. There was a French frigate near the fort of Algeziras, at the opposite side of the Bay; so that our situation altogether was not free from perplexity.

The Rock of Gibraltar is a bare and rugged mountain promontory, with a serried ridge, and an enormous precipice terminates it perpendicularly on the side next to the land. The fortifications, as every one knows, are of such strength as to be deemed almost impregnable. The ancient Moorish castle of Gibel Tharic stands on one of the abrupt cliffs above the town, and is at present used as a prison. The town itself is well built, and between the ramparts and Europa Point, the termination of the promontory, a lovely Alameda extends along the shore.

The Mole exhibits a scene of the utmost variety: Greeks, Moors, Turks, Jews, &c. in their respective costume, are intermingled with English and Spaniards, and the natives of almost every other country. In the Bay are to be seen the ships and the flags of every nation. At the opposite side of the Bay, at the foot of

the Sierra, stand the town and fort of Algeziras, and at the opposite side of the strait stands the fortress of Ceuta, on the African shore.

The Algerine from whom we had hired the Xebeque did every thing possible to hasten the preparations for sailing, the vessel lay in the harbour at some distance from the Mole, and we went on board the very moment the preparations were concluded. The name Mystical ("mistico") has been chosen with incomparable felicity; they are smugglers, privateers, at times regular traders, war launches, every thing in turn. They have three masts, the yards, which are generally braced obliquely, are of an extraordinary length, longer considerably than the masts themselves; they carry two very large triangular sails on the main and fore-masts, and a smaller one of the same form on a jigger mast at the stern. A kind of light gallery projects far beyond the rudder, and there are two stern-ports for guns, to give some play to an enemy. They sometimes sail (when they run right before the wind) with the two great triangular sails reversed to each other; one extremity of each of the yards is in that case

braced to the bulwarks, one on the starboard, and the other on the larboard. As the yards are much longer than the masts, the sails expand widely above, and terminating in angles oblique to the masts, give that appearance so well described by the sea-phrase, that in running before the wind "they go under their wings." The Algerine did not come on board, but we had his captain and crew, who were Spaniards, Genoese, and "Rock Scorpions."

We got into our boat at the Mole; held no conversation which could be overheard, and rowed through the shipping to the place where the Mystical was lying, and ready to weigh anchor.

CHAP. VII.

VOYAGE TO CADIZ.

" Now, don't strike your colours, boys!
But steer to the west."
English Ballad.—ADMIRAL BENBOW.

September 17, 1823.

THE Lady's Confessor whom we had brought from Galicia, some of the Biscayans, Mr. Wilson, Captain Mackenzie, Mr. Llewelyn and Captain B——k, agreed to take chance with us, and at five in the afternoon we weighed anchor and sailed. The wind was fair as it could blow, and we soon found ourselves clear of the Bay. We were not without apprehension that we might be brought-to by the French frigate near the fort of Algeziras, but we passed without being noticed. The Tribune had sailed from Gibraltar two days before.

After we had cleared the harbour, and were in the strait approaching Tariffa, a schooner which was on the same course, ma-

nœuvred, and stood away as if for Tangier on the coast of Barbary, and we (as we did not know but she might have been sent to watch us), manœuvred to keep away as far from her as we could.

The heath was on fire on the summits of the mountains between Gibraltar and Tariffa, and the volumed flames which ascended through the smoke, gave the appearance of a volcano at the time of an eruption. The red light that flared and gleamed down from them upon the waters on our right, contrasted itself with the pale lustre of the light of the full moon which played behind us in the east upon the swelling waves. This contrast might afford a very picturesque subject of study to a landscape painter; but we could have dispensed with the moonlight in the illumination of the scenery.

The wind continued fair, and carried us with great rapidity against the current of the strait; we passed the fortress of Tariffa, which was held by Ordonnez with two thousand men; he sometimes converted a part of his garrison into Guerillas, and roamed through the Sierra and the whole of the country, to the very gates of Algeziras. The beacon of Tariffa

was not lighted, and the tower stood lonely upon the shore. The cape appeared a-head, and we sailed over the very scene of the action of Trafalgar. It was an hour when we could remember Nelson, as Nelson should be remembered! The moon now became clouded, but the wind still and still freshened, and our vessel, as I once heard a tar describe such sailing, rushed "wild-fire scampering" through the waves.

We expected that the French General Lallemand would have accompanied us, but he changed his purpose. A Spanish lady was eager to take a part in our adventure, but with great want of gallantry we declined permitting her to be a passenger. We had ascertained her motive for making the request, and we did not deem it to be of interest sufficiently deep to justify us to ourselves if we permitted her to come on board. The Spanish women seem to have a reckless contempt of danger. I have already described a lady who was a personification of heroinism (if there be such a term), and the answer of Donna Isadora is not easily forgotten.

The early part of our voyage, from the time we cleared the vessel which stood off towards

Tangier, passed without the occurrence of any thing remarkable. We had, immediately on going aboard, attached our papers to a mass of iron, that they might be ready for sinking. We talked of the political state of Spain, and asked how long the French could remain at an expence of forty thousand pounds a day; or how long would England permit the military occupation of the country? We spoke of Cadiz—if Cadiz should but hold out without surrender until the winter, the dark nights, the sickly season, the increased difficulties of getting supplies, and the cutting off of detachments by the Guerilla warfare, would soon reduce the numbers of the army of the invaders.

It seemed to be the general opinion, that the Representative System must be ultimately established in Spain; but perhaps after dreadful convulsions. The demand of the Priests and Monks of the arrears of the tithes, would lay the foundation, and in the spirit of infatuation they were insisting upon the claim.

Mr. Wilson, who had been within the shock, gave us an account of the earthquake at Valparaiso. Some songs were sung, and

some stories told, which could not, perhaps, with strict propriety be repeated, if the lady had been our fellow-passenger. The account of the earthquake was very interesting. The shock to the ships in beating against the bottom as the sea receded,—the sudden retrogression of its waters in a mountainous torrent,—the heaving of the earth,—the sensation in walking on it, as if of ascending upon stairs,—the deep chasm on the shore,—the tumbling of the houses,—the numbers who were crushed to death,—and the direful consequence to more than an hundred ill-fated women who were near the time of their confinement.

As we approached nearer and nearer to the place where we were to expect to find the enemy, the Captain and some of the crew went continually to the head of the vessel; I marked them closely, and scarcely ever witnessed any thing like the anxious and eager intentness with which they kept their look-out a-head, or the rigid straining, without work, of every muscle, as they bent over the bows, and rapidly shot forward their arms in pointing to places where objects were observ-

able, or where they supposed them to be visible. Their voices, in accordance, were straining shrilly, though not loud.

About an hour after midnight, as we approached the Isle of Leon, we observed by the dim and clouded moonlight, that we were near some ships, and a firing commenced on us from a battery on the shore. In a few moments after, we found that we were in the very thick of the French squadron. Some guns were discharged from the windward, and we could perceive that there were two vessels close upon our lee. Some frigates were lying at anchor on the same side, and their gun-brigs and launches were sailing in every direction. The fire was kept up with rapidity, but the wind blew so steadily, that we held on our way, although the hope of escaping might be well called "forlorn."

After we had made some rapid way, we observed that a launch which was nearest to us "hove in stays," and the schooner which was second, immediately after. When we saw them tacking, we expected to have our deck instantly cleared by the gun of the launch, and the broadside of the other. The commanders of the frigates were what English

tars would call "lubberly swabs," for if they had opened their fire, they might have sunk us on the moment.

The crew crouched down upon the deck; the Captain twisted himself like a portion of a screw into the corner near the rudder; the Confessor implored that the stern-ports might be closed to keep out the balls, and then fell to prayers and stuffed his face into a charcoal bag. While the sailors were prostrated upon the deck, they said among each other, "We are all lost! We are all lost! They will fire their broadside in one moment! We can't stay here to be killed, let us bear up and surrender" (*"bamos por la popa"*). They started from the deck, and rushed forward on the moment, and were beginning to ease off the fore-sheet and square that yard, that they might bear up for the enemy.

Captain Dickson happily overheard them; he vaulted over the boat, which lay obliquely across the deck, rushed to the sheet which they were loosening, seized it, and said to them—"For God's sake, my friends, don't mind their cannon, don't let that loose, there's nothing for us to care for; so don't be afraid. Let us haul still closer to the wind, and per-

haps we may escape them." Every thing depended upon a moment, for if a moment had been lost, we should have been inevitably taken. Cheered by his assurance, the mariners, instead of bearing up, hauled closer to the wind. I must not omit doing justice to Mr. Wilson, who afforded both example and assistance, at a moment on which so much depended.

At this very hour, if we had the dominion of the gale, it could not have blown more auspiciously, it was steady and vehement, and our mystical bark (to use the phrase of a mariner), "sailed" upon the waters "like a spirit." The enemy's fire glanced and flashed through the darkness, but in a few minutes we shouted at them in derision, when they recoiled from us, as it were by a kind of magnetic repulsion. We were within the range of the protection of the guns of Santi Petri. Our sailors let fly one of the sheets, the sail flapped violently; it was some time before it could be furled, and when we were hailed by the sentinels on the rampart of Santi Petri, we were not able to bring-to. They fired some musket bullets, which whistled close, but did us no harm. The mariners cried

out that we were friends, and the Biscayans shouted "*Viva la Constitucion!*"

Soon after we had furled the sail, and dropped anchor in the river, a boat rowed rapidly alongside; we did not know what they might be, and we stood upon the defensive. They told us in great trepidation, that they were part of the crew of a Spanish vessel that had been just taken, and that they had escaped at one side while the French were boarding on the other. While we lay at anchor a Spanish vessel carrying a lantern glided several times round the walls of the fort of Santi Petri.

We lay at anchor until day-break, and then sailed up the narrow passage of the Santi Petri river (or rather narrow sinuous strait of the sea), to San Fernando, a town on the Isla of Leon. It may not be perhaps superfluous to observe, that the whole of the island, which was very strongly fortified as well as the town of Cadiz itself, which lies at its extremity, was in the possession of the Spaniards. The fort of Santi Petri is on a small island at some distance from the other extremity. The passage of the Santi Petri strait is narrow and dangerous, by reason of sands

and rocks which form banks and reefs on either side, and on one of these banks we observed a launch that had been stranded, by deviating from the channel.

San Fernando is regular and well built, with wide streets and very fine houses; the General who commanded in chief on the island had his head-quarters in the town, which lies at a distance of about ten miles from Cadiz. It is celebrated as the place where General Quiroga had his head-quarters when, in the year 1820, he was commander in chief of the army that proclaimed the Constitution. We breakfasted, and some of our party then slept for two or three hours upon chairs and tables in the great saloon of the inn; and we afterwards hired caleches (a kind of cabriolets), and proceeded to Cadiz. We passed over the parched soil, and through the sands of the Isla by the camp at Campo Soto, to the martilla tower of Torre-Gorda; from Torre-Gorda, by the causeway to the Cortadura, between the harbour and the Atlantic, and passing the church and village of San Josè, we entered Cadiz by the Puerta de Tierra.

Sir Robert Wilson had his head-quarters

at San Josè; he commanded on the Isla from Cadiz to Torre-Gorda; the fort of Corta-dura was the most important point which had been confided to him by the Spanish Government; but Puntales, opposite the Trochadero, and several smaller fortifications, were also under his command*. A fort between Cadiz and the Corta-dura on the great causeway was erecting at the time we passed from San Fernando, and a number of convicts and other labourers were employed in the works. The island of Matagorda, in the harbour of Cadiz, had been for some time in possession of the French; the garrison, however, never fired, at least while I was in Cadiz, but Puntales and the Trochadero were almost constantly firing, and throwing shells at each other across the harbour.

* Sir Robert Wilson also commanded the gun-boats and launches, (I believe about fifty-four) which lay in the harbour near his side of the Isla.

CHAP. VIII.

DESCRIPTION OF CADIZ.

When Paphos fell by time, accursed time!
The queen who conquers all must yield to thee;
The pleasures fled, but sought as warm a clime,
And Venus, constant to her native sea,
To nought else constant, hither deigned to flee,
And fixed her shrine within these walls of white.

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From morn till night, from night till startled morn,
Peeps blushing on the revels laughing crew;
The song is heard, the rosy garland worn,
Devices quaint and frolicks ever new.

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Description of Cadiz in Childe Harold.

LORD BYRON.

I RECOLLECT that last winter I read to one of my friends, Philip de Commines's account of the situation of the tyrant Lewis the Eleventh in his castle, for some time before

his death. I did not mention the name; I said it was a very striking passage which I had met in a romance, and asked if it was not the conception of some powerful imagination? After I heard my friend's opinion, I told him it was from a history!

Were I capable of writing such a description of Cadiz as should give a conception of its beauty, it would be supposed that I had written a romance, and that I had taken from Tasso the description of the magic gardens of Armida.

Cadiz stands at the extremity of the Isla Gaditana, the fortifications are of immense strength, and the town itself is of incomparable beauty. The houses are white, and the streets are narrow, and there are verandas and balconies outside the latticed casements of every story. These balconies are filled with a luscious profusion of flowers and evergreens, vines, orange-trees, and jasmines, creepers, climbers, and runners, which form festoons, and bowers and airy canopies, and odorous masses of drooping foliage, in glowing and voluptuous richness and beauty. As many of the house-tops have vines on the terraces, and flowers on the parapets, the closeness of the streets produces an effect like enchantment

upon the scenery; for they look like an assemblage of magic bowers, flung together, and piled upon each other in exhaustless variety. On the slope of a hill near the Puerta de Tierra, stands the gloomy and massive ruin of the ancient castle, said to have been built by the Phœnicians. The walk along the ramparts by the sea, affords some noble views of the town itself on the one side, and on the other of the country beyond the harbour, from Rota to the mountains of Ronda in Andalusia. Rota is the extreme point of the land, and as the eye ranges along, in succession are seen Porta Maria, the Arenilla, Puerto Real, the Trochadero, the country towards Chiclana, and the Sierra of Andalusia.

The Aduana, which was the Royal Palace while Ferdinand was in Cadiz, is separated from the sea by one of the bastions of the rampart; it is an extensive building with lofty turrets; a dark portal under the rampart communicates with the Mole, and the interior court is built on arches like the cloisters of a convent, but much more massive. A number of fig-trees grow between the Mole battery, which projects into the sea, and the eastern front of the Royal Palace.

On many of the house-tops from among airy gardens and pavilions, spring light and beautiful octagon turrets with silken banners, which afford a view of the expanse of the sea on one side, and on the other of the harbour, the Island of Matagorda, the country all along from La Rota to Santi Petri, and in the distance the ridge of the mountains of Ronda.

Where any of the streets of Cadiz open to the sea the views through these flowery vistas, of the ramparts with their cannon, the water, and ships passing under sail, are beautiful beyond expression. In some places small baskets with flowers and packets are seen above, moving on cords from one side of the street to the other; a delightful communication between the houses of friends; and minute as is the circumstance, it gives an exquisite finish to the character of the scenery. The square of the "Plaza di Constitucion" and the Alameda, are planted with rows of trees; olives and cypress, are in some places seen above the walls of the gardens. The light-house battery (San Sebastiano) is at some distance from the town, built on rocks in the sea, but connected with Santa Catalina by a kind of causeway. Santa Catalina is the fort

at the extremity of the land. At the Puerta de Tierra there are three gates and three draw-bridges; the ground is undermined, and in the time of a siege, combustibles are laid ready, to explode in a moment, and annihilate an enemy advancing over the excavations.

In the streets the ladies dress in black, from the satin "Mantilla," which enwreathes their heads to the lowest part of their draperies, with the exception of their stockings and shoes, for in these they seem to study almost a fantastic variety. They never go abroad without their fans; their walk and deportment are exquisitely graceful, and the voluptuous dances of Cadiz have been celebrated for ages.

The scene which presents itself to a spectator in one of the balconies, is one which it would be almost impossible to equal in romantic fascination: in the streets below, ladies, plumed warriors upon their steeds, Moors in the magnificent enfoldings of their draperies, the same piece that covers the head, falling in a gathering or duplicature upon the shoulders, and then descending in a flowing robe: Turks, bearded Jews, ecclesiastical

processions bearing the Cross and the Host, with incense and with chaunting: Peasants, merchants from the Levant, foreign mariners, wandering minstrels, Greeks, heralds from the enemy; Spanish messengers posting on light Barbary horses, Algerine corsairs, and mountaineers who have been fighting among the passes of the Sierras: Castillian chivalry marching from their encampment upon the Isla, under floating banners and with martial music, kettle-drums and atambours, and trumpets and clarions, and clash of cymbals. You hear the vesper bells of the convents, and the dirge for the dead: you observe half hidden under their cowls, the pallid visages of monks, who perhaps are meditating with joy the restoration of the Inquisition. Over the porches of many of the houses, carved in the stone, are crested casques, and the blazonry of the heralds on escutcheons.

Such are the objects that may be seen below, and the scene around is not less romantic. You hear songs and music, the dulcet intonation of female voices, the sound of flutes, guittars and harps, from apartments

which are seen through bowers of roses and orange trees, and woodbines and jasmines, and leafy canopies, and dazzling flowers of every hue and shade, and teint and tinge, that glows in the lustre of a southern sun. Embowered in some of the fragrant balconies around and above, are ladies, not dressed in black, as in the streets, but in costume as varied as the hues of the rainbow; some in conversation, some smiling with their friends, and others reclining reading, or in meditation and repose.

On the house-top terraces, among the vines and flowery parapets, and on the airy turrets, are seen figures diminished by remoteness, which seem to view the distant mountains, the expanse of the sea, and the pure azure of the sky. Some years ago, when I was at Rome, I frequently passed whole hours together in walking round the Colliseum, and through its arena, and arches and galleries, by which I created a series to infinity of beautiful combinations. When I spoke of this amusement to my friend Gabrielli, who is a musician as well as painter, I laughingly called it, "playing a melody upon the Colliseum," and

a number of such melodies might be well played in Cadiz.

Instead of a description, I request of the reader to take the following note of the Franciscan Convent.

FRANCISCAN CONVENT, CADIZ.

The Gardener,
A Friar wearing a Cross.

The Chapel,
Painted windows,
Confessionals,
Sacristy,
Cloisters, Garden,
Palm Trees,
Cypress, Olives,
Vines,
and
Vines on Walls.

A solitary Monk moving in a Gallery above the Cloisters in his Cowl.

From the garden, Elm and Vines interweaving.

Branches thrown over a wall across the street to a balcony.

Intermingling of branches with the flowers in the balcony.

In Cadiz are inspired pure conceptions of the romance of the middle ages, but even in Rome, Catholic Rome, the impression is imperfect. The cause of this is evident, the classical buildings predominate over all the others except Saint Peter's, and the two Mythologies are not in unison.

CHAP. IX.

SIR ROBERT WILSON.

We were received by Sir Robert Wilson with great politeness, and we were truly pleased to find that he had recovered from his wound. I was prepossessed strongly in his favour by his gallantry at Corunna, which was the theme of general admiration in Galicia; and I had been a short time before made acquainted with a trait in the English soldier's character, which interested me for him still more. A gentleman who had made a voyage in his company, said jocularly in my presence, that "Sir Robert Wilson with his damned humanity, had prevented them from shooting at the porpoises and sharks that swam alongside the vessel." This anecdote developed very forcibly a trait of character which, but for the oddity of the form of expression, I perhaps might not have noticed with the same attention.

Sir Robert Wilson had apartments in Cadiz

at a house on the Alameda, but his head-quarters were at the village of San Josè, between the town and the Corta-dura. He lived with his son and staff in a house near the church, without parade or ostentation; his vigilance was unremitting; he scarcely slept, and passed whole nights in visiting the posts at the different points under his command. His humanity and attention to the wants of his soldiers (and very many of them were in deep distress), were exercised without intermission: he relieved their wants, supplied them with shoes and other articles of clothing, and whenever an occasion was presented for the exercise of his benevolence, he never hesitated, that he might calculate whether it was compatible with prudence.

Certain arrangements were discussed relative to our commissions in the Foreign Legion* (*"Legion estrangera"*) which was then forming on the Isla, but in these the reader cannot be supposed to feel much interest. It was not possible to conclude these ar-

* Captain Dickson was informed by Sir Robert Wilson, that he was to consider himself a Major, and that he should most probably have the command of a regiment.

rangements on the moment, but the English General permitted us to have the honor of considering ourselves as volunteers under his own command.

CHAP. X.

CADIZ.

After leaving Sir Robert Wilson I met an officer who told me that he had just come from the government-house, where the Ministers had a sitting, and that they were particularly anxious to have the remainder of the powder which was left at Gibraltar.

It was judged necessary that the cutter should be armed; her guns were under her cargo, and as they could not be mounted at Gibraltar (for reasons which the reader will find no difficulty in divining), we spoke of ordering her to Tariffa, that under the protection of Ordonnez she might be prepared for the service.

There were about thirty thousand French troops before Cadiz; the Duke of Angouleme had his head-quarters at Porta Maria, at the opposite side of the harbour, and the harbour itself was blockaded by a numerous squadron.

The taking of the Trochadero was an event of so much interest, that I shall endeavour to detail the particulars as accurately and minutely as I am able. The garrison consisted of about sixteen hundred men. It was said that the commander of the first line had been bribed by the enemy to betray his countrymen, and on the night of the 30th of August the French troops, preceded by the Royalists, marched in silence through the water up to their waists. The sentinel on duty wanted to challenge, but the traitor who commanded said to him, "it was nothing." The sentinel hearing the plashing sound approach nearer and nearer, at length did challenge, and was answered in Spanish, that it was the relief from the Isla. A relief was expected, and the first line was taken by this stratagem. An alarm was instantly given, the drums beat, and the inner line stood to their arms; they did their duty most gallantly, and under their commandant Colonel Grasis, made a desperate resistance; but all their efforts were unavailing. They were compelled to surrender.

The French are said to have lost six hundred men in the attack upon the Trochadero; the loss of the Spaniards was about a thou-

sand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Those who were not made prisoners saved themselves by swimming.

It was the intention of the Spanish ministry, about the time of our arrival at Cadiz, to send a deputation to Lord Cochrane, to entreat his assistance against the fleet of the enemy. Ultimately the deputation was not sent.

A short time before our arrival, Lord Nugent had quitted Cadiz in a small vessel, in which he passed through the French fleet by night; entrusted, it was supposed, with a mission to England. It was said that powers had been confided to him by the Spanish Government, by which he was to endeavour to raise a large sum of money in England for their use. The revenues of the island of Cuba were mentioned as the security. It was very generally believed that propositions had been made to his Lordship to take a command in the Constitutional army, upon his return to Spain after having effected this object.

The Xebeque still remained at San Fernando, and an order was given by the Spanish Government, that she should come up to the harbour and discharge her cargo at the Mole. The Government undertook, at the time of

giving this order, to pay the 800 dollars, the amount of the freight, to the Captain.

While the arrangements were making about this settlement, the fort of Santi Petri was taken by the enemy, and the Captain of the Xebeque had no chance of escaping except through the fleet that was blockading the harbour of Cadiz. He had hoped when we left Gibraltar, to make sail under some favourable circumstances from the Santi Petri river, but his vessel was now between two fires, for the fort was in possession of the French; a part of their fleet was outside the river, and they had possession of the Trochadero, between his vessel and the harbour. In coming up to Cadiz there was scarcely any danger between San Fernando and the harbour in passing the Trochadero, by keeping close to the land on the side of Puntales, but as some Spanish launches had been sunk in mid-channel a few days before, the Captain of the Xebeque would not venture the passage.

At this time the true circumstances of the fall of Santi Petri were scarcely known in Cadiz; but the following was the general report of the day: "The garrison had been bribed by the French. They had mur-

dered their governor and all their officers, and after some firing on the ships and batteries, had betrayed the fort into the hands of the enemy." I give this as the first general report, but I shall take an opportunity of informing the reader of all the circumstances, as far as I find it possible to collect them. The fall of Santi Petri was a most disastrous event, as, under the protection of its guns, a communication was kept open by those vessels that escaped the fleet of the enemy.

Sunday, Sept. 21, 1823.

On the evening of this day Mr. Chinery and I went together to the Corta-dura, to speak to the Governor about some barrels of the powder which Sir Robert Wilson had ordered for the use of the garrison. Within the fort every one was on the alert; the soldiers were clustering upon the ramparts, observing the shells which were throwing across the harbour, between the Trochadero and Puntales. In the Corta-dura every thing was in readiness for the reception of the enemy.

On our return, we met between San José and the Puerta de Tierra, Sir Robert Wil-

son's Aids-de-camp, Captain Erskine and Mr. Adams, who told us that an attack upon the town in the course of the night, was in Cadiz considered to be almost certain.

In a short time after we returned to our quarters Mr. Wilson entered; he told us "All was lost!" that the War Minister had said to him, "All, all is lost! we are betrayed by our soldiers—they have sold themselves to the enemy! An assault upon the town some time in the course of the night," he too said, "was expected almost with certainty." At this time it was believed that the officers in Santi Petri had been 'massacred' by their soldiers. The most diastrous and fatal consequences were to be expected, if the town should be attacked while a portion of the garrison was in a state of disaffection. It is certain, that the troops were at this time without pay; that they were but scantily supplied with provisions, and that there were many of them in extreme necessity of clothing.

As the Isla, most probably the Corta-dura itself, was now to be our post, I went out with Mr. Wilson to get passports for going through the gates at any hour in the course of the night which we might find necessary. When

the governor's office was opened we got our own orders for passing, and at the same time I got two other for Major Dickson and Mr. Chinery.

This night there was a heavy firing at Caracca, and between Puntales and the Trochadero; but no attack was made either upon the Corta-dura or Cadiz.

The Spanish Government was eagerly intent upon retaking Santi Petri. Major Dickson volunteered for himself, Mr. Chinery and me, that we would take part in any attempt that should be made for its recovery.

On the night of the 21st, the French were repulsed in an attack on the bridge of the Portazgo.

About this time we received in Cadiz the three decrees of the Regency of Madrid; the first re-establishing the ecclesiastical rent (renta) called *Voto de Santiago;* the second annulling the sales of the national property; and the third ordering a restoration of seignioral rights (*"derechos senorales."*)

About the same time we got the Duke of Angouleme's circular, published for the better understanding his decree issued at Andujar; by which the powers of the Regency were virtually reduced to nothing.

CHAP. XI.

CANNONADE

September 22, 1823.

THE Xebeque with the powder and arms on board, was still at San Fernando; the Captain was afraid to pass the Trochadero, and no order had been given by the Spanish Government for bringing the cargo by land carriage to Cadiz. Major Dickson and I took a caleche and drove to San Fernando to make some arrangement. As we passed through the Isla, he said that judging from the manœuvring of the French squadron before the harbour, he was certain they were meditating an immediate attack; they had been the entire of the day before, gradually closing in, and he observed a ship of war with a cutter sailing before her, evidently taking soundings. He then mentioned his suspicions to Sir Robert Wilson.

We met the Captain, who was in deep despondency; nothing could induce him to leave

San Fernando before the darkness of the evening, but he promised that he would with certainty anchor that night in the harbour. Finding it impossible to return by the Xebeque, we discharged the caleche, hired horses at San Fernando, and set out for Cadiz. The French fleet was now standing in directly for the harbour, and after we had past Torre-Gorda the guns of San Sebastiano began to fire.

On the strand near the Corta-dura a mounted Spaniard, who appeared to be a messenger, joined us at the height of his speed, and in a little time after we overtook Mr. Allan Hay, who was serving as a volunteer in the Spanish cavalry encamped upon the Isla.

After passing San Josè, we joined Sir Robert Wilson and his Aids-de-camp, who were riding into Cadiz. As we approached the gate, one of the shells which had been thrown, burst high in the air. Before entering the town Sir Robert Wilson rode to the top of a rising ground outside the Puerta de Tierra, which commands a very expansive view of the Isla, part of the harbour, the Trochadero, and the distant country of Andalusia. After

remaining for a few moments we attended him into Cadiz, and as we passed the different gates and draw-bridges, observed with pleasure, that the English General was treated with marked respect and deference by the soldiers who were on duty. Very soon after we entered Cadiz the firing ceased, and the French fleet came to anchor.

The enemy's vessels that approached and anchored, were three ships of war, four frigates, and about thirty vessels of different kinds of a smaller size; corvettes, brigs of war, schooners, mysticals of war, &c. &c. One frigate, two brigs of war, one schooner and two mysticals continued cruising.

In the evening there was some firing near the bridge of Urenea; during the night, between Pauntales and the Trochadero, and the next morning Cadiz was bombarded.

CHAP. XII.

BOMBARDMENT OF CADIZ.

September 23, 1823.

In the morning Major Dickson went to search for the Xebeque in the harbour, to get the powder into the Corta-dura, and I went to the office of the English Vice-Consul. I requested of him to permit us to deposit our papers under his care, as they would be safer in his house than in a private one, if the French should carry the town. The accounts and papers of the Committee were in our writing desks, and each gave the other a written authority to take charge of his papers, if any thing should happen to prevent his being able to make use of them himself. The Vice-Consul politely received the papers, and promised to observe the course which I requested of him to adopt under particular circumstances. I observed that our Vice-Consul had the British flag in his office, ready

to be displayed in front of his house if the French should effect an entrance.

The French ships of the line, their frigates and gun-brigs, were now anchored within less than a league from the ramparts; they did not approach closer, and in that station only covered the advance of the gun-boats and launches, and boats of aid (*"botes de auxilio;"*) these advanced to the mouth of the harbour, extending themselves in a line of front from the fort of Santa Catalina to the fort of Candalaria, and then commenced their fire. From the gun-boats and launches they fired balls, grenades, and shells from mortars, *obus*, and cannon, in every direction, and at every angle of elevation. The *obus* is a piece of artillery between a mortar and a howitzer.

A very heavy fire was opened on them in return from the batteries of Santo Sebastiano, Santa Catalina, el Bonete, la Candalaria, San Carlos and Los Martyres. At the same time that the forts and batteries of Cadiz returned the cannonade of the enemy's flotilla, the Spanish gun-boats and launches commenced an animated and well-directed fire. They kept this up without intermission during the

time of the bombardment; and those which were designated "the launches of the port of Seville," advanced on the enemy and contributed essentially to the success of the day, by a steady firing kept up on the flank *(flanco)* of the French line.

The Asia, a Spanish seventy-four, lay in the harbour, but was not brought into action. The fleet at anchor consisted of three ships of war, six frigates and one brig of war; there were thirty-four launches and gun-boats, and about twenty-six boats of aid. "Among them," (according to a Spanish Gazette from which I extract the passage), "were seen floating among the white flags (with blushing we repeat it), other banners, in which glowed the colours that are blazoned on the banner of Spain."

The bursting of the shells, the dashing of the balls in the water near the batteries, when they fell short, the rushing sound of the balls, and the explosion of the distant and of our cannon, could not be described by the enemy as "sweet sounds that give delight and hurt not." One of their gun boats carrying an obus, and a felucca, were sunk, and many of them were almost riven and shattered

to pieces. The smoke rolled in clouds round the batteries and launches and gun-boats; they kept up their fire without intermission, and numbers of the town's men worked the guns as volunteers.

In some time after we had been at the Vice-Consul's, Captain Mackenzie, Mr. Chinery, and I were on our way to the Corta-dura with our own arms and Major Dickson's, when we met Mr. Wilson, Captain Erskine, and Mr. Elliot. They told us that Sir Robert Wilson had come into Cadiz, and that he would return to the Isla after going round the ramparts. As no immediate attack could be made upon the Corta-dura, I went with those gentlemen back to the batteries. As we passed through the street near the port of the Mole, we met a Spanish regiment, and joined in their shout of "Viva la Constitucion!" The Spanish soldiers (the gallant militia of Madrid) who stood with piled arms on the ramparts, seemed very cheerful, and in excellent spirits.

The fire was kept up with great spirit by the batteries, and we could easily perceive the confusion among the gun-boats; in a short time they retired from the harbour, and the

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fleet anchored at a distance of about five leagues from the town. It became very gloomy, and appeared to threaten a storm for a little time before they retreated. I hoped that the wind might do as much for the French squadron, as our cannon had done for the gun-boat and felucca.

I may here notice some of the effects of the bombardment, which I observed: Near the Plaza di Constitucion, a corner house was laid in ruins by the bursting of a shell; a projecting part of a house near the Alameda, a kind of glazed veranda, was shattered by the rebound of a cannon-ball, which first struck the pavement, and then glanced up through the bottom of the balcony. The dint of cannon-balls was to be seen in some places; and heaps of rubbish and glass shivered almost to powder in others. In many cases the females showed all the timorous apprehension so natural and so pardonable under such circumstances: yet many of the Spanish ladies stood intrepidly in their balconies, and viewed the flotilla of the enemy while exposed to their fire.

The loss of the enemy was supposed to be above an hundred; many of their bodies were cast ashore about the harbour. The fort of

Puntales was the only point of the Spanish line "outside the walls," on which any attack was made, and the conduct of the garrison met the highest praise of the General. Don Jose Quintanilla was the commandant.

In the evening, and during part of the night, the soldiers went round the Plaza di Constitucion, singing constitutional songs; and the citizens made speeches and addresses to them from the benches. We went out in the evening to Saint Josè to pay our respects to the General, who appeared to be gratified very highly by the event of the day. He seemed to be well persuaded that the repulse of the flotilla would produce a very cheering influence on the Spaniards, and a proportional depression in the invading enemy.

Sir Robert Wilson, his son, his chief of the staff, a Spaniard, and his Aids-de-camp, resided in a house at a little distance from the church of Saint Josè, in the Isla of Leon. It lay on the left of the road from Cadiz to the Corta-dura, among sand-hills, some of which were perfect wastes, and others were covered with a scanty vegetation. On some of them grew sycamores and chesnuts, and one was crowned by a palm-tree, whose

branches would be described by Spenser, if he were alive, as dancing daintily on its summit. Some serried inclosures of aloes were interspersed among the waste of sands, and there were fortifications in the immediate vicinity, which, as well as all the others from Cadiz to Torre-gorda, were under Sir Robert Wilson's command.

A party of Spanish soldiers had their quarters in a farm-house at a short distance; and a communication was kept up by signals betweet Saint Josè and the Corta-dura.

The top of one of the turrets of the church of Saint Josè was the place where Sir Robert generally took his stand to reconnoitre, but at night he was occupied almost without intermission in going round the posts on his part of the Isla.

CHAP. XIII.

NEGOTIATION WITH THE KING

Sept. 24, 1823.

THE French were almost certain of carrying the town by the terror of the bombardment, and by a simultaneous defection which they expected among the garrison: the nature of this defection I shall explain hereafter. The day after the attack all was triumph and exultation among the people of Cadiz, and to give an additional impulse to the public sentiment, accounts were received of successes obtained over the enemy by Mina in Catalonia. A new battery was formed on the ramparts, between the Alameda and Santa Catalina, several pieces of artillery, sixteen and twenty-four pounders, and "obus," and mortars, were placed on their carriages. The infamous conduct of the French was spoken of as it merited, in terms of execration; and the policy of England, in permitting the prepetration of such enormities, was mentioned in a

manner that was far from eulogistic. There was no bad intermixture of the ludicrous and the horrible in the conduct of the French upon this occasion.

Professing to be the allies and protectors of the Spanish King, they bombarded the town in which he had his residence, and where he was as liable as any one else to be killed by their shells. It was very justly observed by Manzanares, the minister of the interior, in a proclamation which he issued after the enemy were defeated, that "at sea it is impossible to direct the fire of artillery." It is evident that the motion of the waves prevents the possibility of aiming with steadiness, so that the palace was in as great danger as the house of the governor. The allies of Ferdinand might have deprived him of life, and crushed the Royal Family under the ruins of his dwelling but (as it was well observed in one of the Cadiz Journals), "let the dogma of absolutism be but firmly established, no matter for the life of the sacred Pontiff." Ferdinand remained in his palace, affected to be incensed at the bombardment, and played a scene in an epic farce with mirific grandiloquence. There was an understanding, that

the Aduana should be spared (if the heaving of the swells would guarantee such a treaty), and the King refused to retire from the suite of apartments which he ordinarily occupied, to a place where he might be in greater security. When his ministers and generals urged him strongly upon this point, he said that "Spaniards were afraid neither of fire nor steel." Lattre the Governor, said to Major Dickson, on the day after the bombardment, in reply to a question, "How the King appeared to be affected by the conduct of his allies?" that "he appeared to be displeased, but he supposed he had an understanding with the enemy, that the palace should be respected. Letters and communications passed incessantly between him and the French at Porta-Maria, and the messengers got into the palace in so many different dresses, that it was impossible to detect them." The Governor then asked, "Why England did not unite in alliance with the Spaniards, and why she permitted the French to range the sea with so large a fleet?"

During the time we were at Cadiz, all the sittings of the Cortes were held in secret. On the 23d the Xebeque came at last up

from San Fernando, and the following is a translation of an extract from the Cadiz "Espectador."

"24*th Sept.* 1823.

"Yesterday the English Xebeque Blanquita anchored in our harbour, bringing five hundred muskets, fifty barrels of gunpowder, a considerable quantity of military clothing and accoutrements; part of the ten thousand stand of arms, ammunition, &c. &c. which the Spanish Committee of London has shipped in England, to be distributed by Sir Robert Wilson for the service of the Constitutionalists."

On the 26th a letter was received by Valdes, the military governor of Cadiz, from General Guilleminot, dated Porta-Maria September 24th. In this letter the French General declares that the Duke of Angouleme holds him responsible not only for the lives of the King and Royal Family, but also for their remaining at Cadiz. Guilleminot concluded his letter by threatening to put to the sword the ministers, the generals, the council of state, the deputies of the Cortes, and all those who had employment under the Spanish go-

vernment, if any thing should occur of the nature to which he had alluded.

The answer of General Valdes was spirited and dignified. It was to the following effect: "the safety of the Royal Family does not depend upon the fear of the sword of the Duke, nor of any other of his army; it depends upon the loyalty of the Spaniards, which you have seen well proved. Your letter was written on the 24th, the day after that on which the French and the Spaniards (who were acting with them as allies), bombarded the royal palace, in which the King was residing, while those whom you threatened were occupied in taking measures for his security, and treating him with the most profound respect." Valdes then observes, that "the Duke may conquer them, but that he has no right to insult them; that the Authorities of Cadiz had not at any time given occasion for such a threat as that contain[illegible] in his letter; but least of all, at the time his letter was written, as they had then positive proof, that those who were the object of his threats, had more love and respect for their King and Royal Family, than those who called themselves his liberators."—Valdes concludes with

force and spirit—" or does your Excellency endeavour to make it believed by the world, that the honorable and decorous conduct of the people of Cadiz during the time of the attack upon the town, was the consequence of fear; fear resulting from the intimation of your Excellency, to whom? to a people the most noble on the earth, and through whom? through a soldier who has never acted under the influence of fear."

I have already mentioned, when writing some notes on Corunna, that General Quiroga, after he had been ordered to Cadiz, had been succeeded in the command of Corunna by General Novella. He sailed for England, hastened to London, had an interview of two hours with Admiral Jabat, the Spanish Ambassador, and without waiting a moment after the termination of their conference, left the capital for Falmouth, and sailed by the packet. After two unsuccessful efforts to get into Cadiz, the vessel in which he sailed, after she had been fired on by the fleet, proceeded to Gibraltar. After remaining there for some days he was more fortunate than before, and in company with Sir Robert Wilson escaped the blockading squadron. He had

been appointed Captain-General of the fortress of Ceuta, but he declined taking the command, as the garrison was starving. The measures and policy of the Spanish government in Cadiz met his strongest disapprobation. He never attended their conferences, and always expressed himself in terms of unmeasured censure. From the time of his arrival in Cadiz he lived in seclusion, and did not even leave his house until the town was bombarded; he then went to the battery De los Martyres, at the end of the Alameda. When Major Dickson resided at Corunna, Quiroga was a Colonel; they were then on terms of confidential intimacy, and on our arrival at Cadiz they met with the warmth of long separated friends. When the Spanish ministers gave the order that the Xebeque should be brought from San Fernando to the harbour, they promised that the 800 dollars should be paid to the Captain. Their embarrassment, and the distress of the treasury, was however so great, that after interview upon interview, promise upon promise, and remonstrance after remonstrance, they found themselves unable to fulfil their engagement. Major Dickson represented to Quiroga the circumstances under

which we were situated, the responsibility we had taken when we agreed with the Captain for so large a sum, (which was four times more than the regular freight), and the censure we might incur from the Spanish Committee. We had supposed, that however large the sum we were obliged to promise, it would be willingly paid by the Government, as the gunpowder was so much wanted; but that we must now either ourselves pay the freight, or charge it to the Committee. General Quiroga went with him day after day to the offices of the ministers: he said "he was ashamed of his countrymen, that after a service so essential they should give so much trouble."

Quiroga's opinion of the Ministers was, that they were unfit for their places. "Faltan los hombres."—"There are no *men* in the ministry," was his general opinion; and of the war minister in particular, he one day said, "he had a head like the table," on which he struck his hand at the moment.

The day after the bombardment some circumstances transpired, which proved that all hope was lost, and that the surrender of Cadiz was inevitable. The troops were in a state of notorious disaffection; they were in

deep distress, which was, I believe, the primary cause in which the disaffection originated; at the period of which I am writing they were without rations and without pay; there was not a dollar in the treasury, and the Ministers were apprehensive of making an attempt to levy a contribution. The distress of the treasury originated in the refusal of Machado to fulfil an engagement*; but the fear of levying a contribution was produced by causes of another kind, which were most important in their operation. These causes I shall explain in a subsequent note. The 14th regiment (San Marcial) had been corrupted by the emissaries of the enemy, while in garrison at San Sebastiano. It was concerted, that as soon as the French should commence the bombardment this regiment should march out and make an attack upon Santa Catalina. Without any suspicion of its disaffection, the Government had ordered it to the Isla before the enemy attacked the town; and the French, who expected that San Sebastiano and Santa Catalina would be both silent, were unexpectedly received by a spirited and well-directed fire from each of these for-

* Vide Appendix.

tresses. After the repulse of the enemy, the troops on the Isla determined on a separate negotiation, and the regiment San Marcial took measures for covering a landing of the French. It shouted, "*Viva el Rey absoluto, Viva el Duque d'Angoulema!*" and turned the guns of the batteries of Urrutia, by which the passages of the strait of Santi Petri were commanded.

Unless measures had been taken with the utmost celerity, the French would have effected a lodgement in the Isla. General Espinosa, who was second in command under General Burriel, marched with rapidity from Carracca, and fell upon the traitors; the revolt was quelled, the regiment drew lots, and seven of them were shot the following morning. The officers were perfectly untainted by the infamy. Another regiment, that of La Reina, which had been frequently on duty at the Aduana, or royal palace, had been suborned either by the King himself or his agents, and had offered, that whenever he chose to give the order, they would arrest all the Ministers and the members of the Cortes. After this revolt, and a rigorous investigation of the sentiments of the soldiery, General

Burriel wrote an official letter to the Government, in which he gave his decided opinion, that the Isla of Leon could no longer be defended. On a minute inquiry, it was ascertained by the Ministers, that the disaffection had attained to such a frightful excess, they apprehended they might be massacred in some rising of the soldiery.

On receiving the letter of General Burriel, the Ministers held a sitting at two o'clock in the morning, and came to a determination that they should enter into a treaty. After they had come to this decision, Sir Robert Wilson wrote a private letter to Manzanares, the minister of the interior, suggesting, that if it had been decided that a treaty must be made, and Cadiz surrendered, the best form of negotiation would be a compact with the King. I have not seen the letter, which was never published, but I hold myself responsible for the accuracy of my present statement. Sir Robert Wilson impressed on him, that this course of proceeding would be not only the most dignified and consistent with the national honor, but also the most consistent with the principles of good policy. He contended, that "the question, should be

treated purely as a question between the Spaniards and their King, and that no interests of the French should appear to be intermingled in the negotiation. A treaty with the King would be equivalent in its effect to a treaty with his supporters, but a most important consideration was involved in the form. The French had asserted their right of interference; the Spaniards had denied it at the point of the sword; and if they were now to make a treaty directly with the invaders, it would be a recognition of the very principle against which they had been fighting." This recommendation was both dignified and politic, and consistent with the character of an Englishman and a soldier. The tenor of this letter was most vilely misrepresented; although it was not written until after a capitulation was resolved on, and his suggestion only related to the form of negotiation. It was said "that Wilson was the very first man in Cadiz to propose a surrender." I have a twofold motive for my anxiety to do justice to the character of the English General: my primary duty to state the truth; and secondly, I owe Sir Robert Wilson the "*amende honorable*," for no one inveighed against his

supposed conduct with greater acrimony than myself, whenever it was the subject of conversation in Cadiz. I am sorry for his sake, that the letter was not published. I desire it may be distinctly understood, that I do not impute the misrepresentation to Manzanares; I know no one whom I consider less capable of acting with dishonor.

September 26.—On this day there was an animated fire on many points of our line and on that of the enemy: at Santi Petri, by the batteries and launches of Gallineros; and at Puntales and the Trochadero. The Madrid militia paraded on the rampart; they were the pride of the army; calm, steady-looking soldiers.

September 27.—The Cadiz militia marched through the Plaza di Constitucion; on reaching the middle of the square every company in succession shouted the word "*Viva!*"

One day, while the treaty for pacification was in progress during the time of a truce, when we visited General Quiroga, he said that if personal liberty, and the right of property, were secured, the new order of things might perhaps be permanent; but if this were not the case, it would not continue for six

months after the French army should retire from Spain.

After we left General Quiroga we went to the sands between Puntales and the Cortadura, where Sir Robert Wilson had a review of his part of the army of the Isla. The horse artillery, cavalry, and infantry, went through several evolutions. Sir Robert Wilson was attended by his son, his chief of the staff, Azetti a Spaniard, and his Aids-de-camp, Captain Erskine and Mr. Adams.

The *denouement* is now approaching; and I cannot do better than insert part of a note written at my particular request by Major Dickson, of a conversation between him, Manzanares and Torres, respecting the occurrences which preceded the surrender of Cadiz.

Walking with General Quiroga, I requested of him to tell me what could have induced the Spanish Ministers to give up Cadiz, and allow the King to go over to the French army? He said, "I will call one who can answer your question better than I can myself," and then called Colonel Torres, to whom he communicated my inquiry. Torres instantly entered into particulars, and

commenced by saying that about the beginning of September they had not a dollar in the treasury to pay the troops, and in a few days after they found by the reports of the generals and other officers, that the army was disaffected, and that the troops upon the Isla were talking of a separate arrangement with the French. In consequence of this and other information, it was determined that a flag of truce should be sent to the Duke of Angouleme, who upon that occasion seemed to be reasonable, and disposed to enter into negotiations. The Spaniards wanted a two months' cessation of hostilities, which was not at that time absolutely refused. During the time taken for deliberation upon this subject Santi Petri fell into the hands of the French, and when he (Torres) and General Alava went over a second time, they found the tone of the Duke of Angouleme very different from what it had been before, and he was so very extravagant in his demands, that Alava and Torres both rose from their seats at the same moment, to take their leave. One of the conditions was, that San Sebastiano (the light-house battery) should be immediately put into the possession of the French. Finding it im-

possible to treat, they returned and consulted their colleagues, who taking all things into consideration, particularly the revolt of the regiment San Marcial (seven of whom were shot), and the defection of the regiment La Reina, they thought it best to make a treaty. The regiment La Reina had offered to arrest the Ministers and all the members of the Cortes, if the King would allow them. Taking all these things into consideration, Torres said that they thought it best to submit to the King, as the course which was most to their honor, as they had never acknowledged the right of the French to interfere between them and their Sovereign. In consequence of this, a paper was drawn up, and Manzanares, and Yandiola, the minister of finance, waited upon the King, stated to him the determination of his Ministers, to submit to him in preference to the French, and that he from that moment was free. The King asked if he might be allowed to quit Cadiz? and was answered, most certainly, that very moment, if he pleased. He was then asked if he would give any document which would convey to the people an idea of his disposition towards them? to which he replied, THAT HE WAS

ANXIOUS TO DO SO; and that if any paper was drawn up which he approved of, he would willingly sign it. Manzanares upon this produced a paper, which he requested his Majesty would look over, and make such erasures as he might think proper, or if he objected to the whole, to order such a one to be drawn up as he might approve of. Ferdinand then took a pen, and erased some sentences, particularly one relating to the Constitution. He said "*he could not consent to that, because it might not be allowed.*" At length the paper was worded according to his own pleasure, his signature was attached to it, and it was then given to Manzanares. This Minister again repeated, that if it were in any manner objectionable, he trusted his Majesty would again alter it, and concluded by requesting, that if it were not perfectly agreeable to his feelings, he would order him to destroy it. The King answered, that so far from this, it perfectly accorded with his feelings, and so far from wishing to destroy it, he declared in the most solemn manner, that he particularly desired it should be published. He then requested that the publication might take place without loss of time, assuring the Mi-

nisters of his attachment, and anxiety to have them about his person. He desired them to believe him, when he assured them upon his honour, that their personal liberty and property should be respected, and he made a request that they would have the most perfect confidence in his assurances, particularly as he had pledged himself in so solemn a manner.

This conversation was confirmed by Manzanares himself, who joined us at the moment, with this addition, that upwards of ten times did they receive assurances from him to the above effect. (I have seen the paper, and King's signature.)

Torres further declared, that they every day expected to have their throats cut by their own troops, and that they absolutely dreaded them much more than the soldiers of the enemy. But for this, he said, they would *never* have consented to what had taken place, and that they were sure they could have held out for five years, if their soldiers had been staunch.

I then inquired of Torres respecting Sir Robert Wilson's letter; and he asked Manzanares to inform me of the particulars. What Sir Robert Wilson wrote was to this effect—

that "he could not engage to defend the place under his command, on account of the state of the troops, and that taking all things into consideration, he advised that they should treat with their own King rather than with the French." Torres, in answer to the question which I put to him, assured me that "the letter of Sir Robert did not at all bias them in their opinions, as their minds had been made up before they received it."

The contributions were not enforced, as they were afraid of the consequences. There were more than three thousand of the merchants and shopkeepers under arms serving in the militia, and they would, it was well known, have resisted the payment.

Guilleminot told Colonel Torres, that at Porta-Maria they knew perfectly well the situation of Cadiz, in respect to the spirit of the troops that composed the garrison.

October, 1823.—J. D.

CHAP. XIV.

FERDINAND'S DEPARTURE TO THE FRENCH ARMY.

———Give me the cup,
And let the kettles to the trumpet sound,
The trumpet to the cannoneers within,
The cannon to the earth,
The earth to the heaven;
Now the King!!

Cadiz, Oct. 1, 1823.

The event I am about to describe, is one of extreme interest and importance. I shall therefore describe it with minuteness. Major Dickson, Mr. Chinery, and I, went to the ramparts near the palace, (Aduana), and as we passed the soldiers who lined the bastion, we remarked the regularity of their appointments, and excellent order. After taking a rapid view of the preparations, we descended, and at the Mole took a boat, in which we rowed close to the wharf where the royal barge was prepared for Ferdinand's

reception. The barge was white, ornamented with gilding, and with a blue silk awning very richly decorated. She carried two masts, and there were sixteen rowers. Two gilded statues of Fame sounding her trumpet in front of the awning near the royal banner, formed no bad satire on the character of "the beloved," at such a moment as that in which he should embark for Porta-Maria. Several very indifferent-looking boats with variegated awnings, attended near the barge. The quay, from the wharf to the gloomy portal under the bastion in proximity to the Aduana, was lined with soldiers. Some sailors were working, and close to the wharf a vessel of pitch was boiling on a wood fire, which emitted a black and heavy smoke almost at the very point of embarkation. A large fig-tree grows on the quay near the wharf, and the rampart above was overtopped by the serried bayonets of the soldiers who were on duty. The bastions towards the left, and the Mole, were crowded with spectators, and above the ramparts, along their whole line, the windows of the houses, the balconies of every story, the house-top terraces and galleries, and the innumerable tur-

rets which rose above the whole, were also occupied. While we were waiting the egress of the King, I remarked a figure which was very striking by its situation and attitude. In one of the embrasures of the bastion, just over the gloomy portal near the water, sat alone, and looking down, an ecclesiastic in black, with one of those great hats which in Spain are worn by the clergy. His solemn figure was in character, and associated well with the scene I had come to witness. In some time four heralds, and some of the officers of the household, the General in Chief Burriel, Lattre, &c. &c. came down in procession, and after a considerable interval the guns began to fire, and the King, the Queen, Carlos the Infant, and the Royal Family, with an attendant train, issued from the portal. Not a banner was displayed, nor garland of flowers, nor scarf waved, nor was there one voice of congratulation heard from the houses. As the Royal Family walked to the wharf the soldiers presented arms, but except for the cannonade, all would have been dead silence. They took their places hastily under the awning, and the guns of the batteries fired, and were answered by the artillery of

the Asia, a seventy-four, of a war brig, and the gun-boats and launches in the harbour, and by the French cannon at Porta-Maria on the opposite side.

General Valdes the military Governor of Cadiz, stood uncovered at the helm, and after the royal barge had receded about thirty yards from the wharf, the rowers dully and mechanically heaved out (not shouted), "*Viva el Rey!*"—not a single voice was heard to respond from the land, nor, except those of a few of the very lowest of the rabble in three or four small boats, was there a voice on the water—

"No man cried God bless him."

As the royal barge and its attendant boats receded farther from the shore, the cannons roared a satire as bitter as the silence of the trumpets of the gilded statues. The Asia, the war brig, and the gun-boats, dressed themselves in all their colours, and answered the fire, and the French artillery fired again at Porta-Maria and at the Trochadero. We went ashore, passed through the portal into the massive and cloister-like court of the inte-

rior of the palace, and went about some business to the office of the British Vice-Consul.

In about two hours after Ferdinand's departure, General Quiroga paid us a visit. When we said to him that the event of the day was one of which the influence would be felt not through Spain alone, but every part of Europe, however remote, he assented, and observed at the same time, that "it was only now that the business in Spain was commencing." When we asked him if he had read the King's Proclamation? he said, "Yes; but there would be a Proclamation of a very different kind as soon as Ferdinand should find himself with the French at Porta-Maria."

Same day.—I met Captain B—k, who told me that Sir Robert Wilson had resigned his command.

Same day.—General Quiroga said this day in the Minister of War's office, that Major Dickson had incessant trouble, and that he too had incessant trouble, which he had only taken for the sake of his friend. He said he was ashamed of a stranger, that such a mode of doing business should be seen

in Spain. That these arms and the ammunition had been sent from London to Galicia, from that to Gibraltar, where it was necessary that they should be re-shipped, and finally from Gibraltar to Cadiz. That on the promise of the War Minister the cargo was delivered; yet now the bills could not be got without the most disgraceful delay.

Same day.—Ferdinand's Proclamation, promising perfect security, was printed in such a manner, that it covered the two sides of one half of a sheet of paper, leaving the other half sheet blank. One of Quiroga's friends showed him the Proclamation thus printed, and the General said—"Yes, I see the Proclamation; and you perceive this half sheet of blank paper, which is intended for a counter Proclamation, annulling the other, as soon as the King shall find himself with the French army at Porta-Maria!!"

The probable course of conduct which the King would pursue, was the theme of every tongue in Cadiz during the whole day after his departure. Some persons imagined that he would adhere to his engagements; but those who knew him best, ridiculed the weakness of a supposition so repugnant to

experience. He had given Quiroga assurance of the most perfect security if he chose to remain; but the General told us laughing, that he "rather chose not to remain."

On reaching Porta-Maria Ferdinand did honor to the judgment of those who would not trust him—he signed (or rather put "the King's own flourish" to) a Proclamation, annulling all the acts to which he had given his sanction from March 1820 to the 1st of October.

On the 2d of October, at four o'clock in the evening, he left Porta Maria, and with the rest of the Royal Family took the road to Jerez. On that day we received in Cadiz the news of the fall of Pamplona, Santona, and the Castle of the Rocks of San Pedro.

CHAP. XV.

ALARM IN CADIZ.

October 2, 1823.

General Quiroga this day honored us with his company. After dinner the conversation turned principally upon his defence of the Isla in the year 1820, and the Capitulation which was now about to take place, or rather the occupation by the French under the King's order.

We dined early, according to the Spanish custom, and General Quiroga returned home in about an hour after we had left the table. The French were to enter Cadiz the following morning. In the evening, while we were sitting engaged in speculation half ludicrous and half serious on our own situation, Captain Mackenzie entered, and told us there was a general alarm, and that Quiroga had sent him to say to his friend, that he every moment expected to be arrested, and to know whether he could devise any means of his escaping.

Cadiz was now in a state of dreadful alarm,

the Ministers and Deputies of the Cortes were in eager anxiety to make a retreat before the French should enter the town, and Sir Robert Wilson was taking measures for retiring to Tangier. The Royal George steam-vessel was said to be at San Lucar, and was expected at Cadiz with vehement solicitude. There was an English vessel in the harbour with thirteen or fourteen of the Liberales on board her; among them were said to be the war minister Golfiin and several of the other Authorities.

We went to General Quiroga's house, and he acceded to the suggestion of Major Dickson, that it would be prudent not to remain in his present residence.

It was now night. We went out together, and after passing through some of the streets, he turned suddenly into the house of one of his friends. The next morning an arrangement was made with the Captain of the Leopold brig, that he was to receive a Spaniard who did not wish to remain in Cadiz after the French should make their entrance. He also promised, that in case of any search, he would endeavour to secrete, in the best manner he could, the person who had sought an

asylum in his vessel. I feel very great pleasure in doing justice to the conduct of Captain Hunter of Paisley, on this occasion and every other that came under my notice.

October 3, 1823.

We this day took private lodgings in a street near the Alameda, opposite a dead wall behind a church. Here it was intended that Quiroga should live with us under a different name, until an opportunity should be afforded of placing him on board. The alarm of the Liberales was now at its height, as it was said that the French cruisers were rigidly examining every boat and every launch that got out of the harbour. As the head of the army which, in the year 1820, proclaimed the Constitution, Quiroga might be deemed more obnoxious to the King than any other man in Spain, so we feared that there was but very little hope of his security. The French troops were now pouring into Cadiz, both by the gate near the Mole, where they disembarked after coming directly across the harbour, and by the Puerta de Tierra, after landing on the Isla. We expected some

murderous work in a short time, as there was no capitulation, no terms had been made, and every thing depended upon Ferdinand and his masters. The blockade still continued, and the French squadron was cruising off the harbour. As the objects with which Mr. Chinery had been sent out to Spain by his family, were now entirely frustrated, Captain Dickson consulted me on the course which should be taken. We coincided in thinking that he should be sent out of Cadiz as quickly as possible; and an arrangement was made with the Captain of a schooner to take him to England. This schooner, and Captain Hunter's brig, had been detained in the harbour for some months by the blockade.

Sir John Downie, who had been confined in the fort of Santa Catalina, was liberated immediately after the departure of the King. Ferdinand gave the order for his liberation, and he was ordered to follow him to Porta-Maria. Major Dickson had known him in Trinidad, where Sir John Downie had treated him with particular friendship. When they met in Cadiz, Sir John said, "You have known me long: I was a man when you were a boy: you always knew my sentiments to

be liberal, and I am the same Downie you have ever known me." He denied that he had ever been engaged in any conspiracy against the Cortes, but said, "he had certainly drawn his sword to defend the King, who had always treated him with friendship." I did not see Sir John Downie, but he was described to me as presenting a remarkable appearance, as one side of his face is quite shattered by bullets.

On the evening of the day the French entered Cadiz the "Lapida" was removed.

The following Proclamations of the 30th September and 1st of October, ought not to be separated. Manzanares, the Secretary of State, showed me the original of the first, with Ferdinand's signature, and the alterations made with his own hand.

In Article I. after the preamble between the word "Government" and the word "which," there was a passage containing a renunciation for ever of the absolute power (*podere absoluto*). This, as has been already mentioned, Ferdinand erased, observing that "perhaps he could not promise so much." He was supposed, when he said this, to allude

to his situation in respect to the Duke of Angouleme.

I have not seen the second Proclamation in Spanish, and of it I give a translation from the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of Tuesday, October 14, 1823.

PROCLAMATION OF FERDINAND AT CADIZ.

"Spaniards!

"The first care of a King being to promote the happiness of his subjects, and this being incompatible with incertitude of the future destiny of the nation and of the individuals of whom it is composed, I hasten to tranquillize the anxiety and inquietude which might result from the apprehension that despotism may be enthroned (*se entronice*), or that the violence of a party should have a predominating influence.

"United with the nation, I have run with her the last chance of the war; but the imperious law of necessity obliges me to put a termination to its continuance; in the conflict of these circumstances, my potent voice alone can avert from the kingdom persecution and vengeance; nothing but a wise and just Government can reunite the general will, and nothing but my presence in the camp of the enemy, can dispel the horrors which menace this Isla Gaditana, its loyal and noble inhabitants, and the many illustrious Spaniards who have made it their asylum.

"Determined therefore to put an end to the disas-

ters of the war, I have come to the resolution of departing from hence on the morrow; but before I put my purpose in execution, I am anxious to give publicity to the sentiments of my heart, by the following explanation (manifiestation*).

"1st, I declare of my free and spontaneous will (*mi libre y espontanea voluntad*), and I promise on the faith of my royal word, if necessity shall require any alteration in the existing political institutions of the monarchy, to adopt a form of Government which shall confer complete happiness on the nation, guaranteeing the personal security, the property, and the civil liberty of all Spaniards.

[1. Declaro de mi libre y espontanea voluntad, y prometo bajo la fe y securidad de mi real palabra, que si la necessidad exiegere alteracion de las actuales institutiones politicas de la Monarquia, adoptare un gobierno† que haga, la felicidad completa de la nacion, afianzando la securidad personal, la propriedad y la libertad civil de los Espanoles].

"2d, In like manner I promise freely and spontaneously, and I am determined to cause, and to cause to be carried into effect, a general "olvido‡," complete and absolute, of all the past, without any exception whatever (*un olvido general completo y absoluto de todo lo passado, sin excepcion alguna*) to the end, that by these means may be re-established

* "Manifiestation," not minifiesto.

† The renunciation of the absolute power was to this effect—"*in which the absolute power shall never be re-established.*"

‡ "Olvido," a term of greater force in Spanish than "amnestia," amnesty.

among all the Spaniards the tranquillity, the confidence, and the union which are so necessary for the common welfare, and which my paternal heart so ardently desires (*anhela*).

"3d, In the same form I promise, that whatever changes may take place, the debts and obligations contracted for the nation, and for the use of my Government under the existing ("actual") system, shall be always acknowledged, as I hereby acknowledge them now.

"4th, I also promise and give assurance, that all the generals, commanders, officers, sergeants, and corporals of the army and of the navy, who have up to the present time continued to act under the existing system in any parts whatsoever of the Peninsula, shall retain their rank, employments, emoluments, and dignities. In the same manner let the military and civil functionaries, and the ecclesiastics who have been attached to the Government and the Cortes, or who are in a state of dependence on the existing institutions, and those who, by reason of the alterations (*reformes*) which are to be introduced, may not be able to preserve their employments, receive at the least one-half of the amount of the emoluments which they enjoyed under the present system (*la actualidad*).

"5th, I also declare and give security, that the Volunteer Militia of Madrid, of Seville, and of all other places, who are now on the island, as well as all other Spaniards who have taken refuge within its boundaries, and who are not under a necessity of remaining by reason of any thing peculiar in their situa-

tions, shall have it in their power immediately to return to their houses, or to transport themselves to any part of the kingdom which may suit their purposes, wth entire security; that they shall not at any time suffer molestation for their political conduct, or former opinions (*entera seguridad de no ser molestados en tiempo alguno por su conducta politica ni opiniones anteriores*); and those soldiers of the Militia who may require it, shall obtain on the journey the same aid which is afforded to the individuals of the standing army.

"Spaniards of the class already described, and foreigners who may be anxious to retire from the kingdom, shall have equal liberty of putting their wishes into execution, and shall be furnished with passports for whatever countries may suit their intentions."

"FERDINAND.

"*Cadiz, Sept.* 30, 1823.

FERDINAND'S PROCLAMATION FROM PORTA-MARIA.

Madrid, October 7.

OFFICIAL ARTICLE.

H. E. D. Victor Saez, Secretary of State, in a document of the 1st instant, addressed to the Minister of Grace and Justice, states as follows:—

Most Excellent Sir, *Our Lord the King has just transmitted to me the following decree:*—

"Very public, and notorious to all my subjects, were the scandalous events that preceded, accompanied,

and followed the establishment of the democratical constitution of Cadiz, in the month of March 1820: the most criminal treason, the most shameful cowardice, the most horrid disrespect to my Royal Person, and the most unavoidable violence, were the elements employed to change essentially the paternal Government of my kingdoms into a Democratial Code, the fruitful source of misfortunes and calamities. My subjects, accustomed to live under wise and mild laws, adapted to their customs and habits, and which, for so many centuries had rendered their forefathers happy, soon testified, publicly and universally, their contempt, aversion to, and disapprobation of the new constitutional system. All classes in the state, felt equally hurt at institutions in which they foresaw the signs of their misfortune and misery.

"Governed tyrannically, by virtue and in the name of the constitution, and treacherously watched, even in their very apartments, they neither could appeal to order or justice, nor conform to laws established by cowardice and treason; upheld by violence, and productive of the most frightful disorder, of the most destructive anarchy, and of universal indigence.

"The general voice was raised on all sides against the tyrannical constitution: it called aloud for the discontinuance of a code null in its origin, illegal in its form, unjust in its contents; in a word, it called for the support of the Holy Religion of their forefathers, for the restitution of their fundamental laws, and for the preservation of my legitimate rights; which I inherited from my ancestors, and which, with established solemnity, had been sworn to by my subjects,

" The general outcry of the nation proved not fruitless: in all the provinces armed bodies were formed, that fought against the soldiers of the constitution: sometimes victorious, sometimes vanquished, they ever remained constant in the cause of Religion and Monarchy: enthusiasm, in defence of objects so sacred, never dismayed in the reverses of war; and, preferring death to the loss of such important benefits, they proclaimed to Europe, by their allegiance and firmness, that if Spain had given birth to, and harboured in her breast, some unnatural sons, the offspring of universal rebellion, the whole nation was religious, monarchical, and attached to her legitimate SOVEREIGN.

" All Europe, fully aware of my captivity and of that of the whole of my Royal Family, of the pitiful condition of my faithful and loyal subjects, and of the perverse maxims lavishingly disseminated, at all hazards, and in all parts, by the Spanish agents, resolved to put an end to a state of things which was an universal scandal, which tended to overturn all the Thrones, and to subvert all ancient institutions, by changing them into irreligion and immorality.

" France, entrusted with so holy an enterprise, in a few months has triumphed over the attempts of all the rebels in the world, united, unfortunately for Spain, on the classical ground of allegiance and loyalty. My august and my beloved Cousin, the Duke of Angouleme, at the head of a brave army, has conquered throughout my dominions, has liberated me from the captivity in which I sighed, and restored me to my beloved, faithful and constant subjects.

" Seated once more on the throne of St. Ferdinand,

by the wise and just hand of the Almighty, by the generous efforts of my powerful Allies, and by the bold achievements of my beloved Cousin, the Duke of Angouleme, and his brave Army; anxious to remedy the urgent wants of my people, and to manifest to the whole world my real will, in the first moment after recovering my liberty, I have decreed as follows:—

"First, All the Acts of whatever class and nature they may be, of the Government called Constitutional, that has swayed my people from the 7th of March 1820, to this day, Oct. 1, 1823, are null and void; declaring, as I hereby do declare, that, during all that time I was deprived of liberty, and obliged to sanction the laws and issue the orders, decrees and regulations, which, against my will, were contrived and issued by that same Government.

"Second, I approve all that has been decreed and ordered by the provisional Junta of Government, and by the Regency of the Kingdom, established, the former on the 9th day of April, and the latter, at Madrid, on the 16th day of May, of the present year; that is to say, provisionally, until properly acquainted with the wants of my people, I may be able to give such laws, and suggest such measures as are most fit to produce their real prosperity and happiness, the constant object of all my wishes. This you will observe, and communicate to all the Ministerial Departments."

The King's own Flourish.

Port St. Mary, Oct. 1, 1823.

To D. Victor Saez.

CHAP. XVI.

CONCEALMENT OF QUIROGA.

"Say, mounts he the ocean wave banish'd forlorn,
Like a limb from his country cast bleeding and torn."

LOCHIEL.

October 3, 1823.

We this day visited General Quiroga, to concert the means of his escaping out of Cadiz. There were objections to his going on board, as it was supposed that every ship in the harbour might be a kind of focus to the searchers; yet he was so anxious to be out of the town, that he preferred the vessel.

A Spanish officer, one of his confidential friends, entered while we were with him, and the means were determined by which he might hope to get on board. It was settled that he should on that night, accompanied by Major Dickson, pass privately out of the town by the means which had been resolved upon, and a small boat was to be in readiness to convey him to the brig.

At about ten o'clock at night they succeeded in getting on board the boat, and rowed to the station where the Leopold lay at anchor. On board were two Spanish officers, who had sought an asylum on the evening before. After leaving the General the boat in returning was challenged by a French sentinel, who threatened to fire. To prevent drifting by the tide, it was necessary to keep close to the shore of the Isla, and the boatmen desired that if challenged again, it should be answered, that "they were fishermen." When the news of Quiroga's escape from the town was announced to the mother and the sister of his lady, while they made their acknowledgements to his preserver, they wept with joy.

October 4, 1823.

Mr. Wilson on this day asked me to introduce him to the Vice-Consul, that he might get a passport for Gibraltar. The Royal George was at Porta-Maria, and the French fleet were standing in for the harbour. Mr. Egan told us he intended, as soon as the

French Admiral should come to anchor, to write to him to know whether the blockade had terminated, and whether the British ships that had been detained for so many months, might proceed on their destination.

On the evening of this day Mr. Chinery and I went to visit General Quiroga on board the English brig. The entire of the French fleet was at anchor in the harbour, and the Royal George had come across from Porta-Maria. Madame Quiroga was expected from England, and we went on board the Royal George to inquire if she had been a passenger. We were answered in the negative; and we then rowed to the brig, which lay at anchor in the harbour, about a mile from the Mole. We passed through a flotilla of boats and launches filled with French troops coming across from Porta-Maria, and they were swarming like wasps out of some of the ships of war. We could perceive in the distance the glancing of the sun upon the arms of a body of their soldiers that had disembarked near Puntales, and was moving along the sands in the direction of San Josè.

We found the General in the cabin, with

the two other Spanish officers. He had altered his appearance as much as he could, and wore a large straw-hat and light-coloured jacket. Quiroga's situation was at the time very peculiar: disguised and secreted in a foreign ship, and amidst the fleet of his enemies, near the Isla of Leon, the scene of his triumph; and expecting the arrival of his wife at the very hour when he must have been anticipating the probability of his execution! I told him of the inquiry we had made about his lady; and I internally rejoiced that I could not announce her arrival. The General asked anxiously for his friend "Dickson," and I told him he would visit him in the course of the evening.

While we rowed through the harbour, after taking our leave of the General, the French were still crossing in different directions. The harbour was filled with ships of war, brigs, corvettes, launches, and feluccas; the market-place of Cadiz was occupied by a body of troops, who had piled their arms, and in some of the streets they were marching with drums and bands.

On landing at the Mole I observed an ob-

ject which made a strong impression on my imagination, and reminded me of the following description in the Lay of the Last Minstrel :—

"But o'er her warrior's bloody bier
The lady dropp'd nor flower nor tear;
Vengeance deep brooding o'er the slain,
Had locked the source of softer woe,
And burning pride, and high disdain,
Forbade the rising tear to flow."

After landing from our boat, as we walked under the rampart towards the gate of Seville, while the French were disembarking under muttered vollies of deep-toned curses from the Spaniards who were crowded near the water, and while I was musing upon the situation of Madame Quiroga, if she had then come to Cadiz, I observed a figure, which almost startled me, by its attitude and situation, and the expression of its countenance. There are lying on the ground under one of the bastions near the Mole, two enormous pieces of artillery, in a state rude and unbored, and the ornaments but roughly carved. On one of these sat a female figure: she was alone; she was past

her prime of life, and from the crown of her head downwards was enfolded in black, according to the fashion of her country. She was abstracted from the passing scene, her head hung obliquely, her feet did not rest upon the ground, but swayed gently with that motion which indicates so often that the mind is at "unrest," and the bitter deadly smile that played upon her lips, was well in accordance with the baleful light of her eye; both expressed the ecstacy of meditation upon revenge—"Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord!" so says the Scripture; "It is a dainty bit, and so he keeps it to himself," says the proverb; and so said the voiceless lips of the Spanish woman, if voiceless lips ever gave utterance by the cold deadliness of their smile. I said to myself as I gazed on her, "Was there ever such a personification of meditated vengeance, and upon such a throne? and the air is loaded round her with the curses of her countrymen!!"

General Quiroga's Opinion on the means which should have been adopted to prevent the fall of Cadiz.

Not considering myself competent to form a judgment on a subject of such paramount importance, or at least to express it without presumption, unless under the sanction of the very highest authority; I requested of General Quiroga to give me his opinion, in answer to the question, "What would have been the means by which the fall of Cadiz might have been averted?"

To his kindness I am indebted for the following exposition and elucidation of the causes which led to the surrender, or rather military occupation of the town, without the formality of the terms of a treaty.

"It was necessary," he said, "that the General appointed to the defence of Cadiz, under circumstances so critical, should have been perfectly free, and should have been invested with a most extensive and independent authority; but that in this respect, the situation of the military commanders was absolutely pitiable (*bien a plaindre*). They were under the control of the Government,

under the control of the Congress, and even of the Royal Family. The Commandant should be endowed with such force of character as not to permit himself to be influenced by any consideration for the evils to which individuals might be exposed (*maux particulieres*); but should devote his exclusive attention to the defence of the town. The Trochadero should not have been defended at so great an expence, with such a numerous garrison, and with eighty pieces of artillery; it should have been considered only as a kind of advanced redoubt, mounted with four or five light field-pieces, which might be easily withdrawn on the advance of the enemy. The saving of expenditure resulting from this, should have been devoted to the strengthening the works of the Cortadura, and rendering bomb-proof the fort of Santi Petri, a military point of such transcendant importance."

In forming an opinion on the length of time for which the French could have protracted the siege, he said, "it was necessary to make a distinction between the French army and their squadron; this latter, by reason of the approach of the winter, could not keep the

sea for fifteen days longer; and it was very doubtful, whether the land forces could continue to carry on the siege, without the co-operation of the fleet blockading the harbour. The inhabitants of Cadiz and of the Isla, could perfectly well bear a contribution sufficient for the maintenance of the army, but they could not afford the payment of a contribution of an amount sufficient to defray the useless expences which were incurred by the Government, especially as the Spanish finances were under a system of absurd and unintelligible mal-administration. At a crisis like that, every expence, for any other purpose whatever except the support of the army on which the defence of Cadiz depended, should be deemed to be an expenditure not of necessity. It was utterly impossible to comprehend how so many millions of rials could have been exhausted within so short a space of time; many commercial houses by which money had been advanced to the Government, had been irretrievably ruined.

"The military command of Cadiz should have been confided to a man known by the army, and in whom the soldiers should have had the confidence resulting from conviction,

that he was united with firmness, and compromised with the cause of the Constitution. The General should possess the most perfect knowledge of all the means of defence, and of all the resources of the place confided to him, as its defender; he should be endued with a high degree of moral courage, and possessed of a capability of taking the proper advantage of all the moral means by which enthusiasm might be excited *(electriser)* in the spirit of the soldiery.

"The military commandant should have the sentiments of the inhabitants devoted to him, in order to draw from them, in case of necessity, all the aids and resources in which the Government was deficient. Finally, he should be a man who at the last extremity, would have known how to avail himself to the uttermost, of the hostages which he possessed, in the Royal Family, and would have been sternly determined not to permit the liberation of the King until after he had tried the effect of all the efforts of patriotism, of fortitude and of zeal.

"There were in Cadiz all the elements necessary for protracting the defence for a year, if the man who held the office of military

commandant had been endowed with the qualifications necessary for the fulfilment of the duties of the charge, and had known how to circumscribe the Government within the limits of its own peculiar authority. The ministry had usurped the functions of the military government, and obtruded its interference in all the details."

As a proof, and one of a very peculiar and decisive nature, that no scarcity existed in the garrison, General Quiroga mentioned that "D. Juan Alvarez Mendes, better known as Mendizabal, the person who had supplied Ceuta, sent provisions to that fortress which had been bought at Cadiz, at the very time when he might have made the purchase at Gibraltar, and when of course there was the risque of their being captured by the fleet of the enemy."

As I was an eye witness and actor in the events of the time, I hope it may not be deemed improper that I should in this place venture to offer a few remarks, as a kind of commentary on the text of General Quiroga's exposition.

The fall of Cadiz was an event of interest

so profound, not alone to the Spaniards, but to every one, no matter of what clime, or country or nation, who estimates the sanctity of moral right, and the sacredness of national independence, that I shall endeavour to throw some additional light upon the circumstances and causes which led to that catastrophe. The people of England have in general a very indistinct conception of our real situation in Spain during the expiring struggle of the last war; and the information I can afford, may not I hope be uninteresting.

Although we are so very well accustomed to the falshood of French accounts of the warfare of their armies, there is something of novelty in the exquisitely ridiculous statements of the events of the last campaign, by reason of their repeated and reiterated contradictions. When it suits their purposes to depreciate the quantity and the quality of the constitutional spirit in the Peninsula, they bribe "a squad" of traitors* to paralyze the energy of the armies they command, by mutuality and reciprocation of mistrust and suspicion, and then "we march from the Pyrennees

* Abisbal, Morillo, Ballesteros, &c.

to Andalusia with shouldered firelocks; the Spanish people and the constitutional armies execrate the existing institutions, are eager for despotism and the Inquisition, and hail us with rapture as their deliverers" from Liberty—good!

They want (very much) some military renown in their reigning family, that the Parisians may have fêtes and pastimes; and in their bubbling frothy enthusiasm for the Duke of Angouleme, the hero of the Trochadero, into which he made a triumphal entry when the garrison was dead; they manufacture Trochadero hats and ribbons, and swear that the royal warrior has "covered himself with glory!!!" Again, when oblivious of the military glorification of the Bourbon Duke, they wish to demonstrate to Europe the paternal sympathy and affection of the Bourbon King for the Spaniards; bent down by the galling yoke of constitutional liberty, their armies again "move through the country without opposition." Mina, to be sure, is in Catalonia, the Empecinado is still in the field, Cadiz has not surrendered, &c. &c. but no matter, the people of Spain hold freedom in abhor-

rence, and are enraptured with the visit of the disinterested friends.

These accounts are exceedingly delightful and improving; the truth is incontestibly contained either in the affirmative or the negative, and must be necessarily discovered in two efforts at the utmost; which is a very great advantage in political investigations. To talk of the glory of the French armies in Spain, is the very uttermost absurdity, and the accounts of the rejoicings at Paris for triumphs achieved by bribery, are in an overwhelming degree ridiculous. No one who was last summer in Spain, and knew what was going forward, could listen to such "proper stuff" with any thing like gravity. The spirit of the Constitutionalists was subdued and broken down by the defection of those putrid traitors who were corrupted by the enemy, on whose names the execration of their country shall burn for ever and ever!

As a proof that we had abundance of provisions in Cadiz, General Quiroga mentioned to me a singular and kind of extreme case, the supplying of Ceuta; and I shall again advert to the same subject, for the purpose of

"clapping certainty upon the shoulders of demonstration." In writing upon the fall of Cadiz, it is a point of the very utmost importance, for unless it were the case, no obloquy could attach itself to the Spanish Government for supineness and want of capacity.

When a negotiation (with the King or the enemy) was first spoken of, immediately after the bombardment and the repulse of the invaders, and when its necessity was asserted to be grounded on disaffection arising from the distress of our soldiers, Major Dickson and myself stared at each other with astonishment. "The enemy," we said, "had been repulsed by the fire of our cannon, and our soldiers did their duty, the General of the Isla had the firmness to order the execution of the traitors of the revolted regiment, the season was advancing, and the wintery storms were to be expected; Santi Petri might perhaps be retaken, the spirit of the citizens was inspired by the defeat of the French flotilla, and a proportional degree of depression was to be expected among the enemy. At such a moment as this do they talk of a treaty? The reason? The soldiers are without rations

and, without pay, in want of clothing, and under the endurance of every privation. Why will not the Government, in such a case of extremity, levy a contribution on these townsmen, who are living in such luxury? The Government does not dare to force a contribution."

An excuse like this, at a time when an event was depending of such mighty and transcendant importance to the cause of the country, was a melancholy proof of human imbecillity. It implied a conviction on the part of the Government of Spain, that they had not sufficient hold upon the opinion of the citizens, to induce them to advance the supplies by which our soldiers might be kept alive—those very soldiers who were the last hope of the cause of the country.

I neither directly, nor do I indirectly, insinuate, nor do I believe, that there was any foul play among the Spanish ministers; but in the crises of political convulsions, the want of obdurate energy is a crime. Had there been a Government in Cadiz, possessed of talent and vigor sufficient to inspire the citizens with confidence, the soldiers would have been supported; and had the soldiers been

supported, they would not have turned traitors to their cause. It is a flagrant and outrageous absurdity, which betrays the last extremity of ignorance of man's nature, to imagine that soldiers who are enduring every privation, will fight for countrymen who are around them revelling in abundance.

To the very utmost extent the distress of the Spanish treasury is admitted in this argument; two documents are given* to prove its existence and its cause. The defection of the soldiers was a matter notorious as the noon-tide sun; the bribery by the French emissaries is granted; and some might have been cowards: all these concessions bear no relation whatever to the proposition which it is the object of the writer to establish, namely, that under a better and more energetic Government, the causes of the surrender might have been prevented from having an existence; although they were without remedy from the moment when Santi Petri became the enemy's.

Under a Government endowed with those moral attributes which infuse vitality, and

* Vide Appendix.

inspire confidence under circumstances almost of desperation, the distress of the treasury would have had no influence, as the citizens would with joyfulness have supported the army—that army which was the very heart's blood of the constitution of Spain. The defection would not have had an existence, as the distressful state of the garrison by which it had been generated, would have been prevented by such a Government. Bribery exerted its sway over the regiments in its most potent and overwhelming form, because the minds of the soldiers were in that state of morbid preparation, which justified the commission of positive crime, by persuading themselves that their fellow-citizens had been criminal towards them: they had permitted them to pine in wretchedness while they were fighting as their protectors.

In the minds of the great mass, or herd, or drove of mankind, moral sentiments are so ill and so vaguely defined, that they float into each other like smoke intermingling itself with a fog. There can be nothing, therefore, more dangerous than to place intellects of such an order in a state and position, that the confines of wrong and right may be brought

into proximity. The soldiers were in want; their fellow-citizens were in abundance; they were fighting for their country; and they accused their countrymen of want of sympathy, and ingratitude for their services. The Government had not fulfilled its compact, for by the terms of that compact they were to be supported and paid. It now required but the quickening operation of French bribery, to demonstrate to them with the most lucid evidence, that their country had been first the traitor to them.

It was, I believe, the second Charles who spoke of the mirific ingenuity with which those, "all—all honorable men," yclept mankind, can raise up equities in their own consciences, viz. when such *pure equities* of *their consciences* happen not to be ill adapted to their purposes.

October 5, 1823.

"*Sauve qui peut*," was now the principle of action in Cadiz among the Constitutionalits. The Ministers and Generals, and Members of the Cortes were getting on board ships and

launches. Some escaped through the blockading fleet, others remained in the harbour after putting back, and others awaited in their vessels the raising of the blockade.

Sir Robert Wilson and his Aids-de-camp intended returning to England. Major Dickson was to go to Malta, under Sir Robert's appointment, with the arms and ammunition; either to await the orders of the Spanish Committee, or to act according to his own discretion, as circumstances might arise; young Mr. Wilson was to return to Bahia; Mr. Elliot intended going to Italy; Mr. Allan Hay and Mr. Chinery, direct to England. I intended returning to England, first going to Gibraltar.

CHAP. XVII.

ESCAPE OF SIR ROBERT WILSON.

October 5.—Evening.

On the evening of this day we went to pay our respects to Sir Robert Wilson, and to take leave of him before his departure. On resigning his command, he left his quarters at San Josè, and lived on the Alameda. After we had waited for some time with Mr. Wilson and Captain B—k, Sir Robert came home, and told us, "he had been informed on good authority, that it would be prudent for every one who had reason to apprehend being arrested, to make his escape from Cadiz with as much celerity as he could."—The alarm had been excessive for two days, and the greatest part of the Cortes had contrived to withdraw themselves from the reach of their enemies. We had a long general conversation on the situation of the affairs of Spain. It was said that three lists of proscriptions had been made out; one, of the ministers and members of the Cortes, who were to be treated as

if they had been regicides; a second, of those who were to be sent into exile; and a third, of those who were to be permitted to remain, but under a close *surveillance.*

There were two unfortunate Frenchmen, who had been in the Spanish service under the English commander, and he expressed a deep solicitude for their safety, and entreated of Major Dickson to devise some means for their escape. Their execution would be inevitable, if they should fall into the hands of their countrymen. Major Dickson gave him an assurance that he would make every effort; but we found that they had themselves contrived some means of escaping from the town. In our conversation, it was agreed that the moral force of the constitution, instead of suffering a diminution, had acquired a very powerful accession of strength by the recent events and the conduct of the King.

Much was said of Mina. He would now be declared a rebel, if he should continue to keep the field—of Ballesteros, who could have raised the siege of Cadiz with his army, if he had made the effort. Carthagena was the place where, if it were possible to protract the war, it was said a stand should be made. Mr. Wil-

son told us he had heard it said in the town, that the Cortes ought to have attempted to escape, bring the King to the mountains, and protract a kind of flying warfare as long as there was a possibility of a hope of succeeding.

Some one said, that a King and a Cortes could not move like a guerilla party among the mountains, and Sir Robert Wilson observed, that "Spain was a country of that nature, that its defenders would ever find themselves thrown upon the sea, in retreating before an enemy. Spain," he said, "was not like the deserts of Siberia, where a war might be protracted, as every point of its territory lay so near to the shore." We spoke of the defence of Galicia. It was said, "the people of that province declared, that if they had but 500 English soldiers, the invaders would never have succeeded in gaining possession." The English General assented to the truth of the calculation.

Sir Robert Wilson, even if he were permitted to remain in Cadiz by the most sacred compact with the ruling powers, would have much to apprehend from the probability of assassination. Any villain who could spare a

a dollar could purchase a stiletto, and a dark night and a solitary street would afford an opportunity of using it.

After a good deal of general discussion of those subjects which may be supposed to be the topics of conversation of persons under such circumstances, we went to a coffee-house near the trees of the Alameda. Here Sir Robert Wilson was informed by one of his friends, that the order for his arrest had been prepared; and he that very night left his residence on the Alameda, and concealed himself in a house which afforded him an asylum. At day-light the next morning he passed out of Cadiz, and sought a refuge on board the Royal George, which was lying at anchor in the harbour.

This was the second time within the space of about nine weeks, that he had been under circumstances of no ordinary occurrence: his escape from the Bayonna Islands, after he had been wounded at Corunna, bore similitude to one of the incidents of a romantic legend.

The English General and Field Marshal Vigo, the Governor of Corunna, embarked on the night of the 31st of July, and sailed for Vigo, hoping to be able to raise a force with which

they might relieve Corunna, by making a descent upon the rear of the besieging army. This hope was frustrated, for Morillo and the French, after overrunning all that part of Galicia, made their entrance into Vigo on the third of August.

Sir Robert Wilson had just sufficient time to escape from the town, and sought a temporary asylum on a solitary island near the entrance of the Bay. There are here several rocky islands; each has a distinct name, but the cluster is designated generally "the Bayonna Islands."

Mr. Llewelyn, who had chartered the Nassau schooner on a private speculation, had been employed by the Spanish Committee to bring five hundred muskets to Corunna, and as many to the army of the unfortunate Riego. After delivering the five hundred muskets at Corunna, the vessel was on her voyage to Malaga, when, in consequence of the want of water (as none could be given at Corunna), she came to anchor off the very island where Sir Robert Wilson had sought refuge, who was happily discovered in time to be withdrawn from the reach of Morillo. He was found

lying in a hovel upon some bean-straw; his wound was in a state of inflammation, and he himself, his Aids-de-camp, and physician, were almost starving. They had brought with them a small quantity of provisions, which were exhausted; a promise had been made that a fresh supply should be sent them, but the promise was unperformed.

On board the Nassau were Mr. Allan Hay, whom I have mentioned as serving in the Spanish cavalry, Mr. Hasker, and some other gentlemen, including two Germans, who intended to join the Constitutional army. The Nassau had been observed by the party on the Island as she came to anchor, and Mr. Adams, one of the Aids-de-camp, went on board in a fishing-boat.

Mr. Hasker, who had walked to some distance from the shore, while the crew were getting water, told me that he came suddenly upon a party of armed *Facciosos* sitting in the chasm of a mass of rock on the side of a hill. They did not make any attempt to obstruct him, though he passed quite close to them. The Nassau was "signalling" her boat, and it is not improbable that they might have

supposed themselves observed, and that the signals bore some relation to their presence on the island.

Sir Robert Wilson was immediately taken on board; his escape was providential, for if he had been found by the *Facciosos*, it is almost certain he would have been murdered. It was ascertained by Mr. Johnson, who went into Vigo, that an armed boat was preparing at the very hour, to be sent in pursuit of the English General.

In less than a week after this occurred, we had to make sail in the Iris from the same neighbourhood; we were close to the Bayonna Islands when the fishermen informed us that Morillo was in Vigo.

In about an hour and an half after we left the Alameda, we heard that orders had been made out for arresting us all, and through the whole of the night we expected every moment that they would be put in execution.

When we went home we prepared our baggage for going on board in the morning. I was determined not to destroy the notes I had written while I was in Spain, and it was not very easy to avoid smiling when I recol-

lected the compliments which the French and *Facciosos* would find among them, if they were seized.

In the morning Major Dickson went with a part of the baggage, while Mr. Chinery and I were packing up another. One of the soldiers who was on duty at the gate of Seville, stopped the porter who was carrying one of the trunks and the writing desks. It was one of these moments in which decision alone must carry a man through. Instead of remonstrating with the soldier, Major Dickson seized him by the throat, and asked why he dared to interfere with his baggage? The soldier, who was confounded, replied that "he did not know it was his!" It was placed in safety in a boat which was waiting at a little distance. In about half an hour after, we carried the remainder through the gate without any obstruction. We rowed to the Leopold, and found that Lopez Bagnos, who had been War Minister, Manzanares, and Senor Dominigo Torres, the "*Intendente*," had taken refuge on board with Quiroga.

After leaving part of the baggage we rowed to the schooner in which Mr. Chinery was to take his passage for England, and

then went on board the Royal George to pay our respects to Sir Robert Wilson. We found him sitting in the cabin, looking over the newspapers that had been brought out from England. He must have read them at such a moment with no light interest, for the affairs of Spain, during the summer, were the subjects of paramount importance. He told us, that as the steam-vessel was not to leave the harbour until the following morning, he intended, if possible, to escape to the coast of Africa in a Spanish boat. We thought it would be better that he should remain as long as possible under the protection of the British flag; but the necessity of not losing a moment appeared to be so urgent, that the plan of an escape to Tangier seemed to be decided.

When we took our leave we sincerely wished him safety and happiness. As we were getting into our boat Mr. Wilson, who had just come from the town, warned us against venturing inside the walls, as the orders were out for arresting us all. In consequence, however, of some circumstances relating to passports, it was absolutely necessary that at least one of us should go to the

Consular office. We again landed at the Mole, and passed into the town, and as there was nothing to be done but take chance for what might happen, we put the best appearance on the matter that we could, and passed through the streets as if we were quite unconcerned. We went to the Vice-Consul's office, and while we were engaged with him, a gentleman who was present, made a remark which struck me very forcibly, by the form of expression: "The tragedy," said he, "is now commencing; the French will get the *Facciosos* to do ALL their DIRTY WORK for them, and will affect not to take any part in the bloody business that is about to begin!"

When we returned to the Mole, the brig in which Major Dickson and I were to sail for Gibraltar was working very slowly out of the harbour, and the boat of the schooner in which Mr. Chinery was to sail for England, was ready at the wharf. While we were taking our leave of him, General Valdes the Governor, came to the Mole for the purpose of receiving Campana, who had been appointed by the King to succeed him in his office. While we were rowing to our vessel,

the ships in the harbour, the batteries of Cadiz, Puntales, and the Trochadero, fired a grand salute in compliment to the newly-appointed Governor.

On board we found, besides those whom I have already mentioned, the "Padre" Ghite, a "Liberal" priest, Colonel Infantez, and another member of the Cortes. We had now on board eight Spanish refugees.

It has been the fate of Sir Robert Wilson twice within a very short time, to have his judgment and conduct violently impeached on two most important subjects—1st, for his correspondence with Morillo; and, secondly, for the Letter, already adverted to, which he wrote to Manzanares. The correspondence with Morillo was never fairly published, nor have the motives in which it originated been ever yet publicly developed. In England the Spanish Committee, both in justice to itself, and in justice to the man who was in a two-fold capacity its representative in Spain, should not have withheld publicity from the

Corunna and Lugo letters, of which the Vigo Correspondence must be deemed only a continuation. This interchange of letters, which has been the subject of so much obloquy, was sanctioned at its commencement by the approbation of the civil and military authorities of Corunna, who all at this time suspected the good faith of the Count of Carthagena. This is a matter of public notoriety, and I have testimony not to be controverted, that the principle of the policy in which it originated was highly applauded by the Spanish Ministry at Cadiz. It is very well known that one of the Secretaries of State wrote to thank the English General, and expressed vehement anxiety for a copy of the correspondence.

The garbled and truncated mass translated from the English papers, appeared in the Spanish journals just at the time when all was in confusion at the seat of Government, and when negotiations were going forward for the departure of the King to the horde of brigands that had made an irruption into his realm.

I shall give the two unpublished letters

in the Appendix; referring the reader (not to make this book too long) for the remainder to the files of the English journals.

Although MS. copies were made at Corunna, I do not know whether these letters were ever published in the Galician newspapers.

[Part of the next Chapter will be found to be a repetition, but the reader will excuse it, by reason of the importance of the subject, and the authority of the persons.—There is an inversion in the order too, for Major Dickson's conversation with Torres and Manzanares, was subsequent to the evening of our embarkation from Cadiz.]

CHAP. XVIII.

ESCAPE OF GENERAL QUIROGA.

Though Honor and good Faith were exiled from the rest of the world, they still ought to have their residence within the bosoms of Kings.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF FRANCE.

While we were slowly working out of the harbour in the duskiness of the evening, a French vessel, which was on the same course, accompanied us very closely. The wind fell—it became a dead calm, and we were obliged to come to anchor, to prevent drifting back among the French ships by the current, which was now setting in to the harbour. While we were in the state of suspense created by circumstances so unfavourable, Manzanares gave us an account of the conduct of Ferdinand, which I shall state, without offering any comment, for commentary is unnecessary.

Manzanares himself was the minister who, with Yandiola, waited on the King the day

it was decided that a pacification should be made, by treating with him, and not directly with the invaders. Manzanares informed him, that they had determined to submit to him rather than to the French; that he was in the uncontrolled exercise of his royal authority; and that the Ministers and Cortes were ready to accede to any terms that he might propose. Ferdinand inquired if he was at liberty, and if he had the power of leaving Cadiz? Manzanares replied, that his Majesty might leave Cadiz that moment, if it were his will. He then told him, that although he was perfectly uncontrolled, and might accede to the request, or reject it, as suited his royal pleasure, that they hoped he would grant them some declaration with his signature, giving assurance that their lives, their liberties and properties would be safe under his protection. The King replied, "Most surely; *I was myself anxious to grant such a declaration;* I have ever esteemed you, and you are the very persons whom I should select to be in my confidence: you may remain without the remotest apprehension of injury."—Ferdinand then inquired if they had brought with them any declaration of the nature to which they alluded; and

Manzanares presented to him one which he had prepared. In one of the sections of this declaration the Minister had inserted a direct renunciation of the "absolute power," (*"podere absoluto"*); but the King declined giving his sanction to the passage. He observed, that he perhaps had not the power of promising so much; alluding, it was supposed, to his situation in respect to the commander of the French army. He was then lavish in his professions of doing every thing, to the utmost extent of his power, in accordance with what he promised. With his own hand he erased the renunciation of the absolute power, and then, after signing the proclamation, presented it to Manzanares.

After he had returned it to Manzanares that Minister said to him, "Although your Majesty has given us this declaration, we request to know whether you consider it your Majesty's free act; for if not, I am ready to tear it this moment, if you shall intimate that such is your royal pleasure."—Ferdinand declared that it was given with his freest consent; that it was an act emanating entirely from himself, and gave a sacred engagement that it should not be violated. He laid his hand upon his

heart, and renewed the most solemn assurances of his sincerity, and of the esteem in which he held them.

When he arrived at Porta-Maria, he signed a proclamation, annulling all the acts of government from the year 1820, and the orders for the arrests were issued immediately after!!

We were still in the harbour, for it continued dead calm, and whenever boats approached, it may naturally be supposed that they were observed with some attention. The Spaniards seemed to feel their situation like men, and they bore it like men. We sat down to supper, and neither laughter nor jesting were banished from our table. I knew at the same time that at least one, and he not of the lowest rank of our party, would have shot himself on the moment, if arrested by his enemies. The fate of Riego proves that he was right.

At half after two in the morning a breeze sprang up, we weighed anchor, and soon lost sight of the light of San Sebastiano.

A Levanter arose after day-break, which prevented our entering the Strait of Gibraltar, and we continued to beat within sight of Santi Petri, without making any progress.

All the Spaniards were confined to their births and hammocks, or were lying upon their cloaks on deck, suffering the consequences of a voyage to those who are unaccustomed to the motion of a vessel. A sail-boat passed at a distance early in the morning. We anxiously hoped that Sir Robert Wilson might be on board, and with the telescope made efforts, as long as she was within view, to distinguish the person of the General. In some hours after, we saw the Royal George passing along the shore near Santi Petri. On the morning of the day following we arrived at Gibraltar.

A general Sketch of our Situation in Gibraltar Bay during Quarantine.

The moment the boat of health came alongside, we made inquiry whether Sir Robert Wilson had escaped from Cadiz; the Royal George was lying in the quarantine station, and we heard with sincere pleasure that he was in security. It was impossible that any one could have heard of Sir Robert Wilson in Galicia, and known him in Cadiz, without feeling an interest in his fate and fortunes.

Englishmen and Spaniards would of course, according to their different views of political acts or political opinions, applaud or condemn; but I believe that no one, either Englishman or Spaniard, doubted for a moment the purity of his moral principles, the kindliness of his nature, his political integrity, or his "gallant bearing" as a soldier.

There were upwards of 200 Spaniards in the Bay, who had made their escape from Cadiz; among them were about 56 of the Cortes, and several of the Ministers and Spanish Generals. Quiroga, Lopez Bagnos, Alava, Valdes, Calatrava, Manzanares, Yandiola, Arguelles, Galliano, Torres, Infantez, and I believe Golfiin, and Mendizabal, were the names of some of those who were performing quarantine. After permission had been given by the officer of health to row about in boats, a constant communication was opened among the different vessels. Every ship hoisted the yellow flag, and the boats that glided among them bore the same ensign. Presents of fruit were sent by friends to friends, and many of the inhabitants of Gibraltar, and strangers, rowed alongside the vessels to pay visits of kindness.

CHAP. XIX.

QUARANTINE.

———" the melancholy flood."

SHAKSPEARE.

Gibraltar Bay, Oct. 8.

We are in the quarantine station, and have hoisted the yellow flag. The Spaniards are enjoying the consciousness of security. The Royal George is in our vicinity, and we have the pleasure of hearing that Sir Robert Wilson is on board. Madame Quiroga has not arrived from England.

This morning, after passing Tariffa, where we saw the Spanish flag still floating on the ramparts, Quiroga, Lopez Bagnos, Manzanares, Major Dickson, and I were standing together upon deck, it was proposed to Quiroga, who was Captain-General of Ceuta, on the coast of Africa, that he should bring us there, and establish an independent government. The garrison consisted of about

two thousand men. It was said by Lopez Bagnos, that we had arms and gunpowder at Gibraltar (alluding to the stores of the Committee), and that we might make a stand at Ceuta. Although this was a kind of melancholy jest, such as men often fling out in very bitterness of spirit, and was not, of course, acceded to (the garrison was starving), Quiroga very gravely remarked, that many undertakings apparently not more practicable, had notwithstanding succeeded.

We have been crowding to the stern of our vessel, and the deck of the Royal George was crowded too. The names of those who escaped in each from Cadiz, were mutually bellowed through the speaking-trumpets, and were heard with exultation, with cheering, and huzzaing, and waving of caps.

When Major Dickson supposed that he should have to leave Gibraltar and go to Africa, Quiroga, Lopez Bagnos, and the other Spaniards expressed their deep regret at the prospect of parting. They depended so much upon his advice and assistance in getting through the difficulties which they had such good reason to apprehend from the Government of Gibraltar, that his leaving them at

the time would be a real misfortune. They intreated of him to apply to the Spanish Consul of whatever part of Africa he might go to, to know whether, if they were to bring their wives and families, they should find an asylum.

October 9.

General Valdes and General Alava are said to have fled from Cadiz.

Sir Robert Wilson has sent to request that the Spaniards who are on board will consult together, and determine what shall be done with the arms, and other stores, which are now in the Bay in the cutter and store-ship.

The following is a note of a conversation I had with Manzanares on the state of Spain. He told me that the Spaniards were divided into two classes, that of the merchants, and those who lived by the exertion of their industry and talent; and another composed of those who were entirely devoted to the influence of the priests and the friars. When, in the course of our conversation, I observed that any man who was at all accustomed to think, must, of course, be a Constitutionalist, he said,

most surely; but that the people were so brutish, that they allowed themselves to be influenced entirely by the ecclesiastics. I inquired of him how it happened that the Spanish nobility were of so little estimation? He told me it was entirely owing to their ignorance, and want of education. He said that many of them could not read, and that they had been brought up in the opinion, that for them instruction was not necessary, and that learning was of importance only to the lower classes of society. I described to him the difference between such a nobility and that of England. When I remarked that such a noblesse as that of Spain was fit for nothing else than to be part of the furniture of a palace, he said it was so indeed, that they were but the "*adorno.*" I am not, said he, very old (he is about thirty-two), yet I remember the time when the young nobility of Spain dressed themselves like the bull-fighters, and associated with them as companions. He said that latterly, however, they had become so convinced of the necessity of improvement, that they had become much more attentive to the cultivation of their understandings.

When I observed to him that the Spanish

nobility must be adverse to the Constitution for a twofold cause, he coincided. The two causes are these; first, their ignorance, in which their situation is coincident or identical with that of the "*canaille;*" and secondly, as it annihilated that apparent importance which they possessed as attached to the person of the King, and the royal court. He said that they would be rejoiced to have a Constitution in which, like the nobility of England, they might take a share in the Government of their country; but in consequence of their ignorance, they were incapacitated from forming a distinct legislative body. He said that the very same cause prevented their being chosen members of the Cortes.

When I told him that I had been in Galicia, and that there the Constitutional spirit existed in the highest fervor, Manzanares referred me to the conduct of the people of Cadiz during the entrance of the French, to prove how the spirit existed there also. At this moment there was an interruption of our conversation.

Oct. 9, Half past Eleven at Night.

There are now about two hundred refugees in the Bay, in boats and launches and other vessels. The same order for arrest included the names of Sir Robert Wilson and the two Generals Quiroga and Lopez Bagnos.

Manzanares resumed the subject of our conversation. We spoke of the unhappy situation in which he himself and the other Spaniards on board the ship, and the refugees in the Bay, were all placed, by the unhappy events which had recently taken place, and of the choice of an asylum. They were driven from Spain—to Portugal they dare not venture—Tangier, or any other part of Africa, would be unsafe—Italy would be dangerous; and where were they to go? To France they would venture sooner than into Portugal. I told him it appeared to me that the very best course they could adopt, under their unhappy circumstances, would be to go to England. Manzanares spoke of America—he said that there were great numbers of the Spanish exiles who had relations in that country, and that there they might hope to get some means of subsistence. He then said

that the most of them had collected something from the ruin of their fortunes; but that if they were to go to England, in two or three months this would be expended, and they would be then without resources.

I renewed a subject on which I had spoken to him this morning, and told him that I had some discussion with a gentleman in Galicia, who avowed himself to be hostile to the Constitution, considering it to be a very imperfect system. Manzanares replied quickly, that it was certainly a system that required much to bring it to perfection; but it was impossible that perfection could be attained on a sudden.

I then requested of him to give me some information on the general system of education adopted under the Constitutional system in the Spanish universities. From his account, it appeared a very judicious one for diffusing knowledge. If the absolute power be restored, he said, it must of course relapse into that debasing system which was altered only at the establishment of the Constitution.

We then reverted to the subject of the war.

I said that from what I had observed in Spain, particularly in Galicia, I was perfectly assured the spirit of the people was so high, and so repugnant to the establishment of despotic power, that in a few months there would be a dreadful political convulsion. Manzanares remarked to me, that the French would themselves, by their conduct, be the means of exciting this spirit against them, and there would be grievances by which the new system would work its own destruction. These were, the demands of the clergy of the *tythes*, and the *arrears*,—the *contributions*, and the *seigniories*. He said too, that there was now a very general diffusion of knowledge among the middle classes of the people; almost every one could speak French, and an immense number of French books had made their way into Spain, and were very generally read. He observed that the war was for the present certainly at an end; but after the lapse of some time it must be revived, for the people never could relapse into the endurance of the old despotism.

Oct. 10, *Half past Eleven o'Clock, A. M.*

It would be difficult to imagine a scene of more perfect apparent repose, than our vessel exhibits at this moment, as she rides at anchor in the Bay. I write a kind of sketch from nature. The sun glows in splendor. We have an awning over our deck, our cannons are lashed to the green bulwarks. The canary birds sing under the shade. General Quiroga and another officer are playing draughts, and Lopez Bagnos sits upon the helm in meditation. One sits leaning over the cages, and whistles to the canary birds. One reads a letter, and one sits with the telescope in his hand, but absorbed in thought. A heap of fruit, grapes, oranges, and melons, lies upon the deck, a present to our ship from the other Spaniards in quarantine in the Bay. I perceive Manzanares and Major Dickson in a small boat with the yellow flag alongside the Royal George, speaking to the refugees who escaped in her from Cadiz. The British banner waves on the stern of the steam-vessel. The rock of Gibraltar towers stupendously in the back-ground of the scene, with its impregnable fortifications, its Moorish castle, its

romantic town, its dizzy paths, and airy watch-towers. Some of the bastions are at such a height on the enormous mass, that their tracery appears only like battlements on some "giant's hold." The waving ridge and fantastic pinnacles accord with the character of the rest of the scenery. The Bay displays the flags of almost every country.

Sir Robert Wilson has been alongside in a boat this morning, attended by one of his Aids-de-camp; he has gone to Tituan in Africa, where he intends to remain for some days. There are upwards of two hundred Spanish refugees at this moment in the Bay; among them are between fifty and sixty of the Cortes. Dreadful gales off Cape St. Vincent. Two vessels with "*Liberales*" on board escaping from Cadiz, were unhappily driven back into the harbour!

Friday, Oct. 10th.—Night.—A conference has been held in the cabin, to decide upon the course necessary to be adopted by the Spaniards at the present crisis; whether it would be prudent to throw themselves into Ceuta, and make it the asylum of the Constitutionalists. Manzanares called Major Dickson, and told him that as he knew Spain

so perfectly, they were anxious to have his opinion on the measures to be pursued. Manzanares said that Ceuta, from the strength of its fortifications, would enable the Governor to hold out for six months; as it had within the last few days received supplies of every kind, and the garrison had proved themselves to be firm, as they had refused to submit to the King's proclamation. He said, that although the forces of the Constitutionalists were now broken and scattered, they would again find some point of concentration, and that the hope of the party would again revive. That from Ceuta they would write to the King of France and to the Duke of Angouleme, representing to them, that although the King had given them the most sacred and solemn assurances that their lives, their liberties and properties would be secure, the moment he got to the French army he had declared himself an absolute monarch and above control: What he had done, Manzanares observed, was equivalent to such a declaration; he had given orders for the arrest of the very men to whom he had promised protection.

It was decided that a messenger should be

dispatched by General Quiroga to the Governor, to get some general information, and then General Quiroga himself, accompanied by Colonel Infantez, should go over to Ceuta to observe the state of the garrison, and to determine what might be necessary for an effectual resistance.

It was determined at the conference, that I should proceed to London to act for the Refugees, and do as much as possible, by a general representation of the state of affairs in Spain, to prepare the Committee to afford its assistance.

As soon as Quiroga and Infantez should ascertain with perfect accuracy the state of the garrison, and what quantity of arms, ammunition and stores of every kind would be required to render it tenable, they were to write to me, to endeavour by every possible means to have those supplies procured for them in England. Major Dickson was to be immediately placed on the Staff of General Quiroga. I was to return from England with the supplies, and bring them into Ceuta.

Saturday, Oct. 11, 1823.

Quiroga shed tears, as he this day spoke to me of the fate of Riego, whom he designated as " la Victime de la Liberté."

[There was on this day a report, that he had been executed at Madrid.]

Manzanares has shown me the Proclamation, with the alterations by the King's own hand. It struck me most forcibly the moment I observed the erasure of that part by which he was directly to declare that he renounced for ever the absolute power, that he did not contemplate such a thing as impossible.

The refusal to give the sanction of his signature to an article by which he was to declare that he never would re-establish it, showed most clearly an intention of re-establishing it if he could.

In England, the law does not permit a subject to contemplate the possibility of the death of the King; and I think that in Spain the law should not permit the King to contemplate the possibility of the obsequies of the Constitution. That he intended to re-establish his despotism, appears to have been as clearly and incontestibly proved by the

negative act of striking out these memorable words, as if he had made the most positive and formal declaration, or given in writing a protest against the renunciation. Unless the absolute power were in the very first instance formally and utterly abandoned, it was nugatory, and almost amounted to an absurdity, to contemplate any thing in Spain like a free Constitution.

Locke says somewhere in his Essay, that there are axioms in ethics as well as in mathematics, (his object is to prove that some moral truths are susceptible of rigorous demonstration); and one of the axioms he lays down is this: "No Government admits of *absolute* liberty. I think I may lay it down as an axiom, that no *free* Government can admit even the contemplation of the establishment of *absolutism* in the sovereignty."

After General Quiroga and Infantez had prepared every thing for going to Ceuta the moment the messenger should return, we received an account that Ordonnez had surrendered Tariffa to the Royalists of Algeziras.

Monday, Oct. 13, 1823.

Note of a conversation this morning with Manzanares, on the present political state of Spain.

He said that the Sovereigns of Europe would of course endeavour to prevent the diffusion of the principles of liberty, but that these would, even although slowly, still gain ground. He instanced the Constitution given to Prussia, which although a concession simple in its nature, was yet of immense importance to the cause of freedom, by giving publicity to the discussions in the Chamber of Representatives.

We spoke of England, of the occupation of Spain by France, and the general policy of the Sovereigns of Europe, in permitting the invasion of that unhappy country. Manzanares said, that in the first place, the Sovereigns of Europe were anxious to repress the principles of liberty in the most general manner, for their own general interest. It was in pursuance of this agreed among them, that France, in consequence of the flourishing state of her finances, her geographical situation, and paramount private family interest, was the country to be selected for carrying on the war.

France alone, he said, could do so at her own expence, without making Spain bear the burden that would be incurred in consequence of the hostilities. Secondly, it was the object of the French Government, as far as possible, to "Bourbonize" the French army, and this was to be done most effectually by leading it to victory under the command of a Duke of the family, who should have an opportunity of distributing rewards and honors for good conduct in the field. On this account, he said he did not think the Duke of Angouleme would permit the re-establishment of the Inquisition, as the French soldiery, on their return to France, would have to endure the taunting of their countrymen, who would reproach them by saying, that they had marched into Spain to re-establish the Inquisition.

When I said that, Ferdinand being the kind of man he was known to be, cruel, superstitious, and perfidious, there could be no security that the moment the French army should be withdrawn, an attempt would not be made to restore the Inquisition; Manzanares answered, that Ferdinand was not cruel, nor superstitious; that he was a man without religion, and without any character of his

own; and that he only took the tone of feeling from those who happened to be about him at the moment. He said that he was a weak and besotted sensualist, like —— of Cadiz; that he could be despotic or liberal, or any thing, just according to the characters of those who happened to be his advisers. His intellect was so weak, that when the Cortes waited on him, he took a pleasure in the ceremony, and was gratified by the state and pageantry, as a child by its baubles. He was without head, without plan of his own, or any consistency.

It was agreed this morning, that until we all got on shore from the different vessels, and could have a general meeting, it was impossible to determine what was necessary to be done at the present crisis. When all that mass of intelligence now diffused among so many vessels, and communicable but very imperfectly under our present circumstances, should be brought into a general conference, they could resolve upon the course it would be necessary to pursue.

October 14.

I dined upon deck with Lopez Bagnos, Torres, and Ghiti, while all the other gentlemen had dinner in the cabin. The grating and scuttle were removed, and a social intercourse was always kept up between the two parties. After dinner it was proposed to drink the healths of all the Liberales in the Bay of Gibraltar. Instead of drinking it at the table as I expected, the whole company came upon deck and drank it in the Spanish manner, every one with his glass touching the glasses of all the others.

As we were in quarantine, it will be remembered that no communication was allowed with any other vessel. Our friends came alongside, but could not come on board, and our letters were steeped in vinegar by the officer of health. When we rowed about in boats we hoisted a yellow flag, as a signal that we had come from a ship performing quarantine.

This morning Mr. Duguid came from the town, and we held a conference in our boats (he, Major Dickson, and I), relative to the arms, gunpowder, &c. &c. Mr. Duguid informed us, that a gentleman had made

inquiries, and spoke of purchasing the whole of the stores which we had in the Bay. In addition to the expence of keeping them in the store-ship and cutter at Gibraltar, he mentioned another very cogent reason why they should be disposed of; and of the force of this reason we were very sensible. With his accustomed hospitality, Mr. Duguid wished us out of quarantine, that he might invite us to his house.

We consulted all the Spaniards on board, except General Quiroga, who was unwell and confined to bed, and they all agreed that the arms should be disposed of as speedily as possible. Sir Robert Wilson had, however, before going to Barbary, intimated his desire that nothing should be concluded until after his return; so we requested of Mr. D. to inform the gentleman who had been speaking to him, that on Sir Robert Wilson's return we would give him an answer.

The Spanish King's birth-day. Some firing of salutes from the Royalist gun-brigs and frigates, and from the fort of Algeziras.

In one of the Spanish books which are on

board, I find the following "Poser" on the old theme of the origin of evil; a body of reasoning marching in close column.

"Supone el que le dice Epicuro; o Dios quiere quitar el mal de este mundo, y no puede; o lo puede y no quiere; o no lo puede ni lo quiere; o finalmente lo puede y lo quiere.

"Si lo quiere y no puede es impotencia,

"Si lo puede y no quiere es malignidad,

"Si no lo puede ni lo quiere es impotencia y malignidad; si lo quiere y lo puede, porque hai mal sobre la tierra?"

Carlos the Infant is a man of 35. Superstitious and politic, steadily adhering to any plan he may have formed for the attainment of an object. Polite and courteous in his intercourse with society, listening with attention, and answering with grace and dignity, from him Spain has much to fear, while this is his character. Were he to come to the throne, the re-establishment of the Inquisition would be certain. His character is just that of Philip the Second.

I have met in the same Spanish book from which I extracted the above argument, that

ought to be no bad silencer to a "Dogmatizador," the following piece of humour on the doctrine of Grace, and exclusive salvation.

"*Multi sunt Vocati pauci vero electi.*

"Un filosofo define los efectos de la gracia por una comparison parabolica muy graciosamente.

"El Rey de Marruecos, Mulei-Ismael tuvo dice, quinientos hijos a quienes les dio un dia un banquete, y al fin del les hablo asi.

"Yo soy Mulei-Ismael que os he engendrado por Gloria mia porque soy muy amante de la Gloria; os amo a todos tiernamente, y cuido de Vosotros como una Gallina de sus polluelos. He decretado que el Reyno de Tafilete sea para uno de los menores hijos, y que otro posea para siempre el de Marruecos; y por lo que respecta a mis demas queridos hijos que componeseu el numero de quatrocientos noventa y ocho, mando que le mitad de ellos sean ahorcados, y otra mitad quemados; porque yo soy el Senor Mulei-Ismael."

In the same book I find an extract from the work of a most learned Divine, who has written in favour of the Inquisition. It is worthy of the subject. In the book of Ge-

nesis, God is made to inquire of Adam where he is,—" Adam, where art thou?" Now the divine writer proves that God, after this question, had a strict legal right vested in him to take proceedings against Adam, and punish him for his disobedience. The divine writer declares, that unless God had asked this question he could not possess the right; because every inquisitorial proceeding, in order to be regular, must commence by a citation of the party accused!!! This writer deduces the origin of the Inquisition, and its right of inflicting punishment, from the decision on this cause!!!

A short note of the tenor of part of Signor Torres's observations, to prove that England would not interfere between France and Spain. He commenced by saying, " he hoped he might be incorrect in his reasoning, while his object was to prove that England would continue neutral. He said that Spain was now in a state of frightful misery, and utter desolation; that she was abandoned by the world, and an object of ridicule; betrayed by her King, and sold by her generals, governors and soldiers.—England, he said, had

lost her place in the scale of nations, and was no longer the arbitress of the destinies of Europe.—Russia was so now, and although Russia had not obtained any very great accession of territory, the moral influence which she had obtained in Europe was more than sufficient to be an adequate compensation. Prussia was so situated, that it was absolutely necessary for her to preserve a very guarded line of policy.—Austria, Senor Torres said, had gained a twofold physical advantage: she held Naples, not nominally but virtually. From this position it resulted, that she had an army in Italy supported by the country, and what she should otherwise be obliged to expend in supporting that army, she was enabled to apply to the purpose of keeping up her army at home. The Italian forces were ever in a state of preparation to be drawn across the Alps when their services might be necessary. France was interested in a twofold account in the prosecution of this war; first, in order to repress the principles of liberty; and secondly, on principles of commercial interest. When France should be in possession of all the ports of Galicia and the North, of Tariffa, of Ceuta and

Cadiz, perhaps of Carthagena, and Alicant, and Barcelona, would she not have the command of the trade of the Mediterranean? Most certainly, for, generally speaking, the people of Spain, by reason of a greater assimilation of customs, prefer French articles of consumption to those of England, and the degree of the preference is measured by the ratio of five and a half to two. In addition to the possession of the ports, he adverted to the facility of sending articles of commerce by land-carriage into Spain. He spoke of Portugal, which he said had been one great store-house of English manufactures, but in consequence of the facility of sending mercantile goods by the way of Badajos, &c. &c. and down the rivers, for the same cause as in Spain, the French commerce would become the favorite."

"As the result of all these circumstances, and many others which he mentioned, it was inevitable, he said, that the commerce of England must sustain a shock of the utmost violence. He said he had anticipated that the objection would be made to his argument, that so far it would appear to be on the side of his opponent; as by proving to what an

excess the commerce of England would be injured, he proved a proportional motive for her taking a part in the war. He said he was prepared to answer the objection, and proceeded.—He said that England had got nothing whatever, as an equivalent for her losses in the long protracted war which she had waged for so many years, at such an enormous expenditure of treasure and of blood.—What had she got? but her ministry "d'une maniere torteuse et caballistique," had negotiated for private compensation in South America. He asked me to pardon him for using these terms "torteuse," and "caballistique," in the expression of his sentiments, but since we were engaged on the subject, he said "truth compelled him to speak with frankness."

In the course of his observations, Senor Torres laid down as a principle, "that the English Government, by indirectly sanctioning the atrocious violation of the liberties of Spain, made a step towards an attempt to annihilate the liberties of England." He laid down too a principle incontrovertible in the abstract, "that all Sovereigns naturally tended to the effort to increase their power;" but one of his inferences did not appear to me to follow

by the "vis consequentiæ" from his premises, when he asserted that England would be very rapidly enslaved by her own Government.

In the course of this conversation, I adverted to the refusal of the King to sign the Proclamation, while it contained the direct renunciation of the "*podere absoluto.*" When I said that the mere internal contemplation of the possibility of its revival, rendered it absurd to speak of the recognition of the rights of personal liberty and property; Torres answered, "No," and for the following reason: "It was not," he said, "in reality and essentially contradictory to the principle of renunciation; that the words were superfluous, as the promises which had been made implied as directly, the renunciation of absolutism."

Although it be here out of its regular order in my notes, I shall state an argument used by a very distinguished Spaniard in Cadiz, on whom I endeavoured to impress conviction of the discrepancy between the sentiments of the Government of England on the Spanish war, and those of the English people. He said, "If it were as I had stated, that the English nation execrated the atrocity of the

invasion of his country, and that the English Government permitted it in opposition to their sentiments, the people of England were as great slaves as the Turks of Constantinople."

The following article, taken from a Constitutional Journal, *El Espectador*, was read with great interest in Cadiz. The editor, as I was informed, fled the day it was published.

El Espectador, Oct. 1, 1823.

All yesterday was past in anxiety and incertitude. How will the Constitutional Government act? What will be the expression of the sentiments of his Majesty? These were the questions which were asked by all. At length a Proclamation was in the evening issued by his Majesty, which has soothed their spirits, and allayed their inquietude, as far as they can be tranquillized in such a situation as that in which we are placed at the present crisis.

It is now a long time since the General of the French army has declared to the Government of his Majesty, that means might be discovered of entering into an honorable negotiation, by which the evils which afflict the country might be brought to a termination. This avowal induced the ministers to investigate the intentions of those who had the charge confided to them, of compelling Spain by force of arms to make alterations (*reformas*) in her fundamental law.

The events which occurred at Seville, have been the motives or the pretext on which the Count of Carthagena declared that he withdrew his obedience from the Constitutional Government. Not many days elapsed after these occurrences, when the Capitulation of General Ballesteros with the General of the enemy's troops, Count Molitor, followed. This new blow which the Constitutionalists received, placed us in a state of extremity. All the resources of the Government were reduced to the little army of the valiant Mina, to whom, whatever may be our future destiny, military history will give the most exalted place among the Spaniards worthy of the name, who have figured in the present epoch, to a small division which might serve as a basis for the organization of an army in Estremadura, of which General Placencia had the command, and to the possession of some fortresses which were in the hands of the Constitutionalists, by reason of their having been confided to Spaniards as their defenders, who estimated justly the national honor and the cause of national independence, whatever might have been their sentiments on the perfection or the imperfection of our political institutions.

The third army, which, although of a small force, had been created from very nothing by the gallant and honorable General Don Jose de Zayas, to whom men of all parties, and even his very enemies, will at some period do justice, was confided to Field-Marshal Don Rafael del Riego; but this commander, after a few days incorporation with the army, remained with forces so reduced, that he could undertake no operation of importance against the enemy.

During this time, the siege of the Isla Gaditana was continued both by sea and by land, with the greatest activity, and without hope on the part of the garrison, of any succour from abroad. England, to which the Constitutional Government had made an appeal, by offering bases which proved how far we had receded from our ancient pretensions; in our solicitude for the intervention to which she had shown herself disposed since the commencement of the war, gave us to understand through the medium of her Ambassador, who was resident at Gibraltar from a little time after the entrance of the French into Seville, that she would interfere only in case the cabinet of the Thuilleries should give its consent to their interposition, but that she would on no account whatever expose herself by any course of conduct at which France might take umbrage. This power had haughtily rejected all interference, AND MOST PARTICULARLY THAT OF GREAT BRITAIN. May Heaven grant that the cabinet of Saint James may one day deplore the consequences of its anti-liberal policy, and may God ordain that the Spaniards may never again have occasion for the aid of England, and that there may be an eternal alliance between them and her enemies.

The French obtained some advantages by means of the immense superiority of their forces to our own, which scarcely amounted to one half of the number requisite for the garrisoning the Isla Gaditana. They attacked the Trochadero on the morning of the 30th of August, and notwithstanding that it was defended by the valiant Grasis, and a devoted garrison that stood its ground for four hours and an half, they suc-

ceeded in carrying this point, as our soldiers, exhausted by fatigue and weariness, could only oppose their bravery to the fresh and vigorous troops of the enemy. The Castle of Santi Petri was in three weeks after cannonaded by sea and land; the cause of its capitulation cannot be accounted for, but after three hours of attack it surrendered to the enemy.

Not many days elapsed, when in some of the companies of the regiment San Marcial, one of those which had with the greatest decision defended the Constitutional System, symptoms of disaffection made their appearance, which excited alarm in the General in Chief and the Government. This evil was checked very promptly by the punishment of the most guilty; but it increased very powerfully the difficulties of the Government, and rendered its position every day more insecure, a position already but too critical, by reason of the dearth of resources, which was caused by the protest of the bills of exchange drawn upon the funds which Senor Machado held in London, and which he had declared to be at the disposition of his Majesty's Government.

Cadiz had sustained a horrible bombardment on the 23d of September, and although this event has produced no other result than the ruin of some of the proprietors of houses, without intimidating in any degree either the garrison, or inhabitants, the Government was persuaded that affairs had arrived to such a crisis, that it ought not any longer to continue exposed to the hazard of the war, without any possible advantage to the cause of independence and

national liberty, or to the noble citizens of Cadiz, who had so just a right to the gratitude of all Spaniards, and to the respect even of their enemies.

This combination of disasters was that which constrained the Government to propose the departure of the King, and with this purpose, they presented his Majesty's resolution to the Duke of Angouleme; but as he insisted upon conditions which appeared to be rather the effect of arrogance, the *Liberales* all united in one general sentiment, to hope from their own King those concessions which they would be unwilling to demand from a foreign enemy. Be the ultimate result what it may, we shall have proved ourselves consistent with our principles, and we shall have it manifested to the world, that we yielded, because we felt that our hopes were founded upon the knowledge possessed by the King, of the will of the greater part of the sound judgment of the nation.

In truth, the Proclamation of his Majesty, which we published, is an important document, which holds out to us a flattering prospect of the future. His Majesty immediately offers as a boon to the Spaniards, that they shall not again be ruled by a system which they hold in so much abhorrence; but that their personal security, their property, and their civil liberty, shall be held sacred.

The oblivion (*olvido*) of every thing which has occurred, is a step of extreme necessity in generating the confidence indispensible towards effecting the reconciliation of the different parties. The recognition of the debts which have been contracted, sanctions

the principle, that the King was in possession of complete liberty at the time when his enemies asserted the contrary.

In fine, the promise which has been made, to preserve the destinies of so many men of exalted characters, whose talents and virtues may be of inestimable value to their country, and the protection which has been promised to the heroic Militia of Madrid, Seville, and other places, cause us to cast our eyes to a father who loves his subjects, and who appreciates the sacrifice they have submitted to, of their ease and convenience, abandoning their houses and families when the state of their country demanded their services.

These considerations should therefore fill us with flattering hopes, and the free and spontaneous manner in which the King has pledged his royal word, ought to make us hope that, instructed by experience, his Majesty now well knows the manner of conferring happiness on his subjects, and that he is resolved to bestow it, that he may attain a distinguished place among those monarchs, who have known how to acquire the affection and the gratitude of the people who have been, by Providence, confided to their care.

CHAP. XX.

GIBRALTAR AFTER QUARANTINE.

Gibraltar, Oct. 15, 1823.

THIS day the time of our quarantine expired, and we went on shore. We hurried to the reading-room to look over the English newspapers which had arrived while we were at Cadiz, and then went to visit our acquaintance in the town. On the second day after that on which we landed, almost the entire number of those who were on board their ships had completed their quarantine, and the streets of Gibraltar were crowded by the refugees, by inhabitants of the town, and strangers from almost every country. The public square near the ramparts on the side of the sea exhibited a scene of extraordinary interest. A number of the most distinguished of the Constitutionalists of Spain, after the wreck and ruin of their party, were here collected: Calatrava, Manzanares, and Yandiola, walking with some ladies; Lopez Bagnos and Torres under the arches of the library,

surrounded by a crowd of the members of the Cortes; Sir Robert Wilson, who had just returned from Africa, walking back and forward before the guard-house, in conference with Ordonnez, arrived from Tariffa, which had been surrendered to the Royalists of Algeziras. At the door of the mansion of the princely Cardozo, on the sea side of the square, one might observe some distinguished Spaniards inquiring after the health of his guest General Quiroga, who was feverish and confined to his bed—General Alava driving in an open carriage—General Valdes, the late governor of Cadiz—English military and naval officers walking with ladies, to whom they told the names and characters of the most remarkable Spaniards—and General Lallemand, exiled from France, might be the objects of attention on the side of the square fronting the sea—Arguelles, Galliano, and other highly distinguished members of the Cortes, whom I did not see, were also in Gibraltar.

The inhabitants of Gibraltar treated the ill-fated exiles with great hospitality; numbers of the Constitutionalists resided on visits at the houses of their friends, both in the town and at Europa Point beyond the Alameda.

At the mansion of Cardozo about twenty found a refuge: among his guests were Sir Robert Wilson and General Quiroga. The situation of the Spaniards was at this time deplorable; from the spirit of the Government of Gibraltar, they knew they must expect unfeeling harshness, and it was impossible for them to determine where they could seek an asylum. Some of them told me they intended to make France their place of residence; the project appeared to be almost infatuation, but their state was so desperate, that I could be little surprised if they took any thing at a venture. While Sir Robert Wilson was in Africa, he entered into a negotiation with Mohamed Umaimon, the Moorish Governor of Tangier, with the object of securing a place of refuge for the forlorn and persecuted Spaniards. Mohamed gave a solemn assurance of the protection of the Moorish flag for all Spaniards who might ask it, the practice being, as he himself expressed it, "in conformity with the Moorish law, and the custom of England." He said that "England had not long before refused to surrender to the Emperor of Morocco a Moor who had fled, and had taken refuge at Gibral-

tar."—The English General was treated in Barbary with the greatest courtesy and kindness.

On the conclusion of this treaty, Sir Robert Wilson ordered from the stores of the Committee, 200 muskets, some barrels of gunpowder, and 5000 bullets, as a present for the Emperor of Morocco, to whom he wrote a memorial, supplicating him, in the name of those who in England interested themselves in the fate of Spain, to grant his protection to the unhappy exiles who should take refuge in his dominions. A number of the Spaniards have retired to Barbary, where they enjoy the security which they could not find at home.

The Sermon from which I have made the following extracts, was about this time preached by a *Servile* Franciscan Friar, in the Cathedral Church of Almeria. Wild, extravagant, and fanatic as it is, it met with high approbation, and was printed at the request, and under the charge of the Municipality. I introduce it here, as it best accords with the order of time. It is a most valuable political document, as an indication of the spirit of the ecclesiastics under the existing order in Spain.

"A Thanksgiving Sermon to the Almighty God, which on the occasion of a solemn function celebrated by the city of Almeria, in gratitude for the liberation of our beloved Monarch, Senor Ferdinand VII., was preached in the holy and apostolic cathedral church, by the R. P. F. Alphonso Zurita, Ex-Lecturer of Arts, Lecturer of Sacred Theology in the Royal Convent of Saint Francis, and Synodial Examiner of this diocese."

"It was given to light" (published) "by the very illustrious Municipality; the Senors Rectors D. Juan Andres de Campos and D. Luis Antonio Garcia being appointed "Comisarios" to execute that duty."

The commencement is quite dramatic: Ferdinand, by the text, exhorts them to glorify the Lord for his loving kindness and great mercy, in restoring to them so great a blessing as that of which they had been deprived; and the preacher's commencement is a kind of bombastic response, or rather interrogation in consequence.

REGES EOS IN VIRGA FERREA, ET TAMQUAM VAS FIGULI CONFRINGES EOS ET NUNC REGES INTELLIGETE ERUDIMINI QUI JUDICATIS TERRAM.

PSALM II. VV. 9 ET 10.

Laudate Dominum Deum nostrum, qui - - - - custodivit me - - - et - - - revocavit me vobis, gaudentem in Victoria sua, in evasione mea, et in liberatione vestra.

Judith, cap. xiii. vv. 17 et 20.

" Illustrisimo Senor," is it true? Does the beauteous and resplendent morning break upon our vision, and dispel by its joyful refulgence the doleful and melancholy darkness in which all nature was enveloped? Most noble Senate, is it indeed certain? Does the Prince of the Day arise from his watery bed, dispel the fearful shades, and animate, beautify, and make joyful the whole expanse of the planetary sphere? Yes, Senors: the young Daniel has liberated himself from the claws of the ferocious lions; the innocent Joseph has at last escaped from the most ignominious captivity: the eagerly desired, the sighed-for *(sospirado)* Ferdinand VII. is now among us. This amiable Sovereign, &c. &c. &c.

Let us return thanks to God, that our Catholic absolute Monarch has entered into the enjoyment of his absolute sovereign authority, notwithstanding the force of the faction by which it had been usurped before. Let us return thanks to God, for our Catholic

Monarch with his absolute power, will be the upholder of religion, and of its ministers, &c. &c. Yes, Senors, our beloved Sovereign being now free, our Ferdinand, the object of our idolatry, *(idolatrado)*, will drive away from us error, prevarication, schism, and irreligion, which threaten us so closely.

Absolutely worthy of the name of *Catholic*, which he has inherited from his august predecessor Ferdinand V. of Arragon, he will afford us an example of submission and respect to the apostolic chair: he will be the first who shall fly to the capital of the nations of Christendom, Rome, and laying aside his sceptre, and removing his crown from his brow, will prostrate himself before the pontifical throne, and kiss the foot of the new Vicar of Jesu-Christ, the new successor of Saint Peter, our most holy Father Leo XII. Then "peace and justice shall mutually give each other the most tender and the sweetest kisses, and truth and mercy shall be united, and shall be bound together in indissoluble bonds."

Then shall the altar and the throne dazzle with new splendour, as Ferdinand shall show himself worthy to bear sway over the two worlds by his veneration and love for the

apostolic chair; and this holy seat shall be filled with glory, when it can count among its supporters a son like Ferdinand. Then the altar and the throne shall unite more and more closely in reciprocal defence of their respective rights; the Vicar of Jesu-Christ shall fulminate anathemas against the vassal who shall rebel against his King, and Ferdinand shall unsheath his sword against the sacrilegious profaner of the church, its mysteries and ministers. Then the successor of St. Peter, in consequence of the concord established between them, will always be attentive to the royal prerogatives of Ferdinand, and Ferdinand will not consent, no *(no consentira no)* that the least innovation should be attempted in Spain, without first consulting the Roman Pontiff in those cases which are dependent upon his authority.

What harmony then between these two potentates, &c. &c. * * * * * * * * * * *

But for all this, he will not be forgetful of the Bishops of Spain. No. "The Bishops, who with content and joyfulness have endured every kind of contumely for the name of Jesus," will find in Ferdinand a pious King,

who sympathizing in their misfortunes, and feeling them even more acutely than they themselves, will fill them with joy and comfort. Ferdinand will esteem himself happy only for having in his council shepherds who love with such holy fervor their God, the church and the king. What an exalted place will those zealous Bishops hold in his estimation, who with the freedom which becomes the sons of God *(hijos de Dios)* have with Christian fortitude upheld in their pastoral letters, and in their wise and energetic remonstrances directed to the Cortes and the intrusive Government, the authority of the church, its existing state of discipline, the immunities of the clergy, and the other points which had been contested! What recompense shall be worthy of those others, who for having answered to the Ministry that which was said by the Baptist to Herod, "*non licet*," crossed the mighty deep, traversed extended plains, and passed rugged mountains, dragging with them through all places the chains of opprobrium, and enduring those tribulations which are enumerated by Saint Paul? I cannot express the magnitude of the recompense; King Ferdinand alone shall be the person justly to ap-

preciate their real worthiness. With what expressions of sensibility, and at the same time with what tears, will he make manifest the excess of estimation which is due to that Bishop and Martyr, the glory of my seraphic religion, the model of Christian pastors, the honour of all Spain, &c. &c.

Ferdinand, after a recognition of the inherent rights of the apostolic chair, after he shall have acknowledged the spiritual sovereignty (*primado*) of the Pope, his authority and his jurisdiction over the whole Catholic church, will turn himself to his Bishops, and will eulogize, approve and reward the illumination, the zeal and the fortitude with which they have endured all those anathemas (*anatemas*) for the welfare of the flocks confided to their care, &c. &c.

And will "our Catholic Monarch" rest contented with this? Ah! he is the protector of the church. (Leo the Pope speaks*) "*Bear in mind, that the royal authority has been confided to you, not for the government of your monarchy alone, but at the same time for the protection of the church, and that by keeping its enemies in subjection, you may defend*

* Sanct. Leo. Epist. 125.

its rights, and restore it to peace, if at any time its tranquillity shall be interrupted."—Ferdinand is the protector of the church. In the ceremonies which are prescribed by the Roman ritual for the solemn benediction and coronation of kings, &c. &c.

How well will our beloved Sovereign, &c. &c. This glorious title! By the severity (*la severidad*) of his laws, he will defend and protect the canonical rules of the church, taking care that they shall be rigidly observed, and that ecclesiastical discipline shall be maintained in its vigor. As the protector of the church, he will cause the code of Alphonso the Wise (*las partidas*) to be carried into full effect, in that part which relates to the Supreme Being, the consideration of his altars and ministers, &c. &c. guard inviolably all our right, &c. &c. As the protector of the church he will, &c. &c.

Let us then acknowledge that God has rescued him from captivity "*to inspire the nation with penitence, and to expel all abominations from the temple and from the earth.*"—Ecclesias. chap. xlix.

Nor will our beloved Sovereign rest contented even with this. He will remember

too that he occupies the throne of Charles I. of Spain, and the Vth of Germany, who armed the whole of his empire to pursue the heretics who infested his dominions. He will not fail to remember, that he is the successor of Philip the Second, who persecuted them in Spain, in Holland, and in the Low Countries, at one time with the Inquisition, at another with his arms; vanquishing them on many occasions in every part of his territories. He will always bear it in close remembrance, that Ferdinand the Third of Arragon and Castille, placed his greatest glory in bringing with his own hands the faggots for the piles which were to reduce to ashes the rebels who were obstinate in their errors; and he who is so well worthy to be the successor of such Catholic Princes (*tan Catolicas*), in order to emulate their zeal for the purity of the holy religion of Jesu-Christ; with the same objects and circumstances with which Ferdinand V. of Arragon obtained it from Sixtus IV. for these kingdoms, in the same manner will Ferdinand VII. restore the Holy Office. Yes, the tribunal of the Faith will return. Then tremble, impious wretches! the Inquisition shall exist anew. Then shudder

in horror. you men of sin! Then they who have endeavoured to work our destruction, by altering the holy dogma, pure morality, national and fundamental laws, shall be troubled, shall be intimidated, shall be thrown into consternation, and shall not find a point of security in the whole of the Peninsula.

Then, &c. &c. Voltaire,—Rousseau,—impious books, pestiferous doctrines, and shall collect and cast into the fire those most obscene paintings, which by their very appearance light the devouring flame of lust even in those hearts the least prone to sensuality, and indicate those things which we ought not to know, and which it is yet very difficult not to remember, &c. &c.

To whom are we indebted for such marvellous benefits? To thee, great God alone. It was thou who preserved'st the life of Ferdinand; that he might re-establish, &c. &c. It was thou who gavest liberty to Ferdinand, that he might, &c. &c. It was thou who restored'st to us the longed-for Ferdinand, that secure upon his throne he might give an impulse to the Spaniards of both hemispheres, to exterminate for ever this infamous sect,

the enemy of God, the enemy of Kings, and of the true and most holy religion, &c. &c. Cherubim and Seraphim,—Saboath, &c. &c. And you most amiable patroness (*amabalisima patrona*), &c. &c. Now we confess that you have been the Jael who have, &c. of those Siseras; you have been the Judith who has, &c. of these Holofernes; you the Esther who has, &c. &c. these Amanes; you——

Sons of Almeria, confess it! engrave it for ever upon your hearts in indelible characters, that the *most holy Mary of the sea* has been the Abigail who, by appeasing by her mediation the most just wrath of the God of David, has given liberty to our beloved Sovereign.

Let us then obey with submission and fidelity a King given us at first by God, and liberated by the entreaties of Mary. Let us love him like a father; let us contribute by all possible efforts to his exaltation and grandeur, and let us confound his enemies for ever and ever; let them be for ever overwhelmed with dread, and filled with terror, when they shall hear us exclaim with the enthusiasm of religion—

"Viva" Ferdinand the Seventh.

"Viva," yes, "Viva" Ferdinand on the throne of Spain.

"Viva" Ferdinand in the hearts of his loyal vassals.

"Viva" Ferdinand to give honor and praises to God.

"Viva" Ferdinand for the triumph of the Catholic faith.

"Viva" Ferdinand for the true felicity of the state; and

"Viva" Ferdinand on the earth, that he may attain for the reward of his virtues the eternal felicity of glory. Amen.

Gibraltar, Oct. 16, 1823.

We went this morning to Europa Point, to pay our respects to Manzanares, Torres, and Infantez. We met the first, by whom we were introduced to Calatrava and Yandiola. The Spanish Ministers resided on a visit at the house of an English gentleman, near the pavilion of the Alameda, among gardens and orange-groves; they brought us to a summer-house, where we had a long conference.

When we spoke of the sale of the arms, and other military stores, as the war was at an end for some time, and as arms could be easily sent out from England whenever they should be wanted; Manzanares replied, that his opinion was the same; the war was now at an end for a while, and it was indispensable for the Constitutionalists to * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * *

I asked him if they intended to give immediate publicity to the conduct of the King at the time he signed the Proclamation at Cadiz? Both he and Yandiola replied, "No,—that such a course of proceeding would be injudicious by its prematurity; they wanted to ascertain the line of conduct which he intended to pursue; he perhaps might grant something like a free Constitution; but if he should proceed in a career of tyrannical violence, they would make a proper use of the Proclamation, and publish fac-similies."

Ferdinand was once well characterized by a Spaniard in Gibraltar, to whom I spoke of the violation of his solemn engagement. He said "he had no intellect (*cabezza*) for any thing else, but that he was an adept in de-

deceit; of the art of deceiving he was a perfect master." That in the instance of which we were speaking, he was "DOUBLEMENT PERFIDE," as he had been free to depart without any conditions. The Proclamation was his own act; for even after it was signed it would have been torn to pieces in his presence, if he had been adverse to its publication."

The murdering of Riego at Madrid, and the probability of that frightful "slaying of his soul" by opiates, before his execution, were deeds of refined and complicated atrocity, which afford the best example of Ferdinand's faith and moderation.

October 17, 1823.

The Algerine from whom we had hired the Xebeque had been paid the 800 dollars, by an order on Mr. Duguid, who had the stores as security for any sums we might find it necessary to request of him to advance for the Committee. We had at Cadiz got letters of advice of bills supposed to be drawn (but which, in the general confusion, never were) by the Spanish Government, on their Com-

missioners in London, Don Pedro J. de Zuluetta, and D. Antonio Martinez.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that under the existing circumstances the letters were without value.

Early this morning we laid the cutter alongside the store-ship in the Bay, for the purpose of commencing a transfer of the cargo.*

The current sets so strongly through the Strait of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean, that it is impossible to sail against it, except with a leading wind. On this day the wind was quite adverse, when I got a message from Captain Tremayne, of the Nassau schooner, with whom I had made an agreement for a passage to England, that "he should weigh anchor, and leave the harbour in less than an hour."

* See the Tables at the end of the Advertisement.

Table 1. Military Stores brought into Cadiz.

Table 2. Remainder of the cargo of the Voast cutter, } Placed in the

Table 3. Remainder of the cargo of the Iris, } store-ship.

Table 4. The present sent to the Emperor of Morocco.

The furnace for melting lead was given under our charge, after having been brought back from Malaga in the Nassau.

Senor Zuluetta, and some other Spanish gentlemen, who were to be my fellow-passengers, had made an agreement with the commander of the steam-vessel, to tow the Nassau out of the Strait beyond the influence of the current, after which, she might make way by beating on a wind.

I prepared myself in a few moments, and hastened to General Quiroga, to receive his commands for his lady. He was still confined to bed, and feverish, though recovering.

I found Cardozo sitting by the bed-side of his distinguished guest, and performing all the gentler duties of hospitality and kindness. The General was too unwell to write; he told me what I was to communicate to his lady in England.—I had a hasty conversation with Cardozo on the state of Spain: "If you keep Gibraltar, why should we not keep Cadiz?" was the constant question asked in derision by the French, when they spoke about Cadiz to the subjects of England. It might have been better to prevent their taking military occupation of Spain, than to have the tr uble of turning them out of it—which we must do at last.

I hurried on board, and as we weighed an-

chor, took leave of my friend, as it may naturally be expected I should of one of whose courage, fidelity, and affection I had unequivocal proofs. We were towed against the current of the Strait, crossed the Bay of Biscay in delightful weather, had a violent north-western gale in the Channel; were drifted from our moorings in Sandy Creek, and had our bulwark, helm, and part of our rigging carried away by running foul of another vessel, in the tremendous hurricane which caused such destruction among the shipping, and came to London immediately after we were released from quarantine.

CHAP. XXI.

EXTRACTS OF SOME OF MAJOR DICKSON'S LETTERS FROM GIBRALTAR, THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO'S LETTER, &c.

I GIVE the following extracts from my friend Major Dickson's Letters. These, and all the rest of his correspondence after I left Gibraltar, indicate the state of utter confusion and want of intelligence, which followed immediately upon the ruin of the Constitutional cause.

The report of Mina's Proclamation was unfounded. Certain reports from Galicia were equally baseless; all was incertitude, distress and desolation.

Extract of a Letter, dated Gibraltar, Oct. 25, 1823.

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

Mina has issued a Proclamation, declaring in favour of the Arch-Duke Charles of Austria, and has said he never will acknowledge a Bourbon; I therefore, unless some bad news

arrives from that quarter in the course of a week or ten days, shall most certainly make a dash at Barcelona with arms and powder, in such a schooner as you and I went in to Cadiz; indeed I believe the very same, for she is waiting, but with a different crew. I dined in company with four French Naval officers, and ascertained from them, that Barcelona was blockaded with one line of battle ship and four frigates, therefore I can manage to get in in spite of them, and I only regret that, &c. &c.

I shall obtain letters of introduction to Mina from all the Ministers, from Sir Robert Wilson, and the Spanish Generals. To-morrow I shall begin to search for some one who may be *really* inclined to purchase our superfluous stores, and one moment shall not be lost in reducing them to a proper size. Mr. Duguid tells me he now suspects —— never intended purchasing any part of them, and that he was the man who professed to be so anxious to have the whole, and who wanted the answer by 12 o'clock, &c. &c.

October 27.

* * * * * *
* * I shall hear something in the course of the day about his (Mina's) Proclamation; it's strange, no one here knows exactly his present head-quarters!

O'Donnell, who commanded the *Facciosos* at Algeziras when you were here, has been sent to Madrid to clear up any suspicions entertained by the Regency. The accounts from Cadiz to day about Mina's Proclamation are so contradictory, that I cannot venture to state them. I have just come from Sir Robert Wilson with my instructions, &c. &c.

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

Same date.

I am using every exertion to dispose of a part of these stores, so as to reduce them to a convenient quantity to tranship, and not to have ship-rent to pay in my absence, which you know is a serious consideration.

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

Same date.

The news from Cadiz is, that the inhabitants are all dreadfully discontented with the King's conduct since his departure; and I know that large sums of money have been privately subscribed there to be sent to Mina. It is said that the regiment San Marcial has expressed deep regret for its conduct, and *all* the Spanish troops are dissatisfied, &c. &c.

At Algeziras, the Royalist troops the day before yesterday shouted "*Viva la Constitucion*," and a general confusion (God grant it may last!) prevailed among them. Manzanares informs me that Morillo, &c. &c.

27th, Evening.

* * * * * *

This day they have thrown some damp upon the Barcelona expedition, as the account of the Proclamation of Mina is not confirmed.

* * * * * *

* * * Sir Robert Wilson is just going on board with an easterly wind. I have heard from Manzanares, that a strong mani-

festo is to be published by them all, declaring that the King has forfeited his right to the throne, &c. &c. * * *

* * * * * * *

November.

The Spanish Ministers, and indeed all the Spaniards except Alava, have been ordered out of the garrison, and to-morrow I believe will be the last day they can remain. General Alava waited upon Lord Chatham, and after hearing from his Lordship that he might remain, he said, "No, my Lord, I am also a Spanish refugee, and as my companions are ordered out of the town, I will go too, for I am determined to share their fate; and although this climate agrees with me very well," (he has very delicate health), "and my changing it for that of England at this season of the year, may be attended with injurious consequences to my constitution, I will run all risque, and take my chance on board the first packet that sails for that country."

This is the substance of the conversation that took place between the Governor and the General, as nearly as I could collect it from the latter.

Cardozo has this moment called upon me: he is a worthy fellow, and is raising a subscription for the distressed foreigners here, to which I am to subscribe 500 dollars for the Spanish Committee, according to the instructions left me by Sir Robert Wilson.

Major Dickson informed me too, that while the Spaniards were at Gibraltar, Manzanares wrote a letter to Sir Robert Wilson, expressive of the high sense he himself, and the other Ministers, entertained of Sir Robert's services and zeal for the cause of the Constitution.

A TRANSLATION OF THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO'S LETTER TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

Praise be given to God alone! In the name of God, mighty and merciful!

To that exalted Personage and Captain of his Nation's Hosts, the object of the elevated contemplation of her Nobles, benign and magnificent in her Parliament, the Leader of those who direct her Councils, to the renowned Warrior, and great Knight of England's Chivalry, Sir Robert Wilson.

Your letter, transmitted to us by the hand of our confidential Minister, General Mohamed Umaymon, has been received, which informed us of the present which you had sent for our acceptance; afforded us at the same time a new testimony of your esteem, and placed us under an obligation of being your friend, since we had accepted of your friendship.— We also received your supplicatory Memorial on behalf of the Spaniards, terror-struck, and fugitive, to our realms of blessedness*.

* An Orientalism. In the Spanish Version from which I make this translation, the words are, el Dominio el Bienaventura do.

We desire that they may dispel every apprehension, and we have given command to our faithful Minister, our before named General of Tangier, charging him to treat them with all kindness, and to grant them security, by placing them under the shadow of our Imperial banner; and therefore from the asylum of our dominions no one shall have power to take them by violence, nor shall any one do them wrong.

And we accept of every thing sent us by you; and we also grant our sanction to the performance of whatever duties you impose upon our confidential Ministers, thus obeying the impulse of our friendship; and as a proof of it we confide you to the eternal friendship.

Adieu,

"EL JER."

23*d of the Month Safar,*
Anno 1239.

[The Emperor's seal is a black circle circumscribing two equilateral triangles, in such a manner that the same diameter has its extremities in their vertices. The area of the circle is filled with Moorish characters, which, as well as the lines which form the sides of the triangles, are traced in white.]

Translation of a Letter from Sir Robert Wilson to General Mina.

To His Excellency General Mina,

&c. &c. &c.

DEAR GENERAL,

The bearer of this letter, Major Dickson, is one of my most intimate friends, and worthy of your entire confidence. He will place himself under your orders with all the resources I possess.

Great calamities threaten your dear country, but you still hold out, and the civilized world is not without hope.

Come what may, we know that you will do your duty, and from day to day add to your glory.

I depart for England * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * and I flatter myself with preserving at least your friendship by my zeal and fidelity.

Believe me, they will not in England forget either Catalonia or Galicia; the salvation of Europe is involved in their destinies, and

the English people is persuaded of this truth.

With the highest esteem and devotedness,
Believe me ever, dear General,
Your friend and servant,
R. T. WILSON.

Gibraltar, on board the Packet,
October 27, 1823.

Official Instructions to Major Dickson.

October 27, 1823.

SIR,

The uncertainty of Spanish transactions at this moment, makes it necessary for you to remain at Gibraltar with the stores, until you can ascertain whether they can be re-removed to Catalonia, Galicia, or any other point, with advantage to the cause of Spanish independence.

Your means of information will enable you to pursue the course which will be most expedient, but it will be desirable that you should act in concert with those persons who, after the King's Proclamation of the 30th September, must still be considered the lawful guardians of Spanish liberty; and that

you should obtain their sanction in writing (where it can be done with propriety) to every measure. In case Spain should offer no theatre for the employment of these stores, as it appears that there would be great difficulty and hazard in sending them to Malta, as originally proposed, you are authorized to dispose of them in such a manner, and upon such terms, as you can find most eligible, remitting the amount of the produce to the Committee, after payment of all expences, including your own.

In order to meet the subscription for the refugees in Gibraltar, you are authorized immediately to sell such a proportion of the stores as may produce the sum of one hundred pounds, which money you are to pay over in the name of the Committee, to the object of their relief; and moreover, you may if necessary, dispose of such other parts of the cargo, as it may be inconvenient and expensive to keep (on account of their bulk or their quality); with the produce of which you are to pay storage and freight. On the receipt of the expected answer from the Emperor of Morocco, you are requested to notify the contents of the same to the Spaniards, and to

give every farther facility which may be requisite for the attainment of the measure in view. Much must be left to your discretion, should new circumstances arise; but in that discretion, in your zeal, and honor, I feel that every confidence may be placed to the fullest extent, and I shall report that opinion to the Committee.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

R. T. WILSON.

You will please to communicate to the Committee, from time to time, such information as you may think necessary.

R. T. W.

To Major Dickson.

CHAP. XXII.

CORUNNA AND CADIZ, AFTER THEIR OCCUPATION BY THE ENEMY.

From Captain Mackenzie I have received the following information. He returned from Cadiz to Galicia. On his arrival at Corunna, Morillo addressed him with all his habitual rudeness; called him a villain, and a "Tragalista;" desired to have a note taken of his passport; gave orders that he should be placed under the "*surveillance*" of the secret police; asked why he left Galicia; he supposed (he said) to join the revolutionary Government at Cadiz; and finally, ordered him to quit Spain in four days.

Several of the Constitutionalists were imprisoned at Corunna, notwithstanding the guarantee by the terms of the capitulation.

All those of the same political party who returned, were banished; more than sixty were sent away within twenty-four hours after their arrival.

Theran, who was Governor when we were

in Corunna, was one of those whom Morillo had imprisoned. This unfortunate officer had been for four years confined in the prisons of the Inquisition at Valladolid; he had endured the tortures of the "pendula," and the dropping of water on his head. The crime with which he was charged, was purely of a political nature, and entirely unconnected with any particular religious tenets or doctrines; he had endeavoured to revolutionize a body of troops in the province of Andalusia. An Inquisitor, attended by a notary, frequently went to his cell, assured him that they knew he had committed the crime of which he was accused; and then desired him to confess it; but he was never brought before any assembly of the members of the baleful tribunal.

There were not more than eight hundred French troops in Galicia when Captain M. came away. Santiago, the capital of this province, where the Constitutional spirit exists in its highest fervor, is notwithstanding one of the most servile cities in Spain. The population, I am informed, is twenty thousand. There is a great Cathedral, an University, and a Palace of the Inquisition; and there are about thirty Convents and Nunneries.

The city is filled with monks and friars, priests and canons. The Palace of the Inquisition had been purchased by General Quiroga* after the Revolution.

Captain Mackenzie told me that "at Cadiz the hatred of the French was violent in the extreme." It was proved in a manner dreadful and revolting, by frequent assassinations. A surgeon said to him, "there were about twenty in the hospital who had been wounded, but not mortally."

Captain M. himself was one evening after it had become dark sitting in the saloon of the Hotel de la Corona, when he suddenly heard a shriek in the street below, and on going out to ascertain the cause, he found that an unfortunate Frenchman had been just murdered. Three or four stilettos had been plunged into him at the same moment, and his blood had spouted and splashed over the white wall of the house near which the vile deed had been perpetrated!

In consequence of the frequency of these occurrences, the French drums were beat at dusk, to recal their soldiers to their quarters.

* For General Quiroga's description of this building, see the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

SIR ROBERT WILSON's reception in Galicia was fervid and enthusiastic; the recollection of the alliance of his country with Spain in the War of Independence, the remembrance of his own services, and the consciousness that the great body of the people of England were united in an alliance of their souls with the Spaniards, in the war which they were waging, all inspired the Galliegos with hope of the expulsion of the hordes of invaders who were over-running their country.

The neutrality of our cabinet was a kind of negative hostility, just as one is not the murderer of a man whom he could have saved from assassination.

The leading minister had, however, declared in his place in the House of Commons, that he hoped for their triumph, and in the impetuous burst of sentiment inspired by the presence of the English General, they were incapable of entirely dissevering or (if I may so say), dis-identifying

the chill-brained politician and the warm-hearted man. As a consequence of this feeling, they *"looked toward England"* with eager hope, if not for an offensive alliance, at least for the gentle offices of political mediation.

As Galicia was the primary object of the English subscribers for whom this volume is intended, I shall select from a mass of documents, some of those which I believe they may consider the most interesting.

The address of Sir Robert Wilson, when he enrolled himself as a Volunteer in the Spanish army, was an expression of sentiment commensurate with the nobleness of the subject.

"Speech delivered by the English General Sir Robert Wilson, in front of the Local National Militia of Vigo, at the time of his enlisting as a Volunteer, and before taking the Oath of Fidelity."

"CITIZENS,

"I am not in the habit of speaking the Spanish language, but it is necessary that I should make the attempt on this occasion, to express my sentiments in the best manner I am able. I am persuaded that you will regard the expressions of my heart rather than well chosen words, which come merely from the lips.

"The moment is come in which I am to take the oath to the Constitutional King of Spain, to his Government, and to the Spanish Nation, during the war which it has to maintain against the French Government—not against the French Nation—in defence of its independence, and the rights of all freedom. For this I have left my country and what is most dear to me, and suspended my duties as a member of the British Parliament. Yes, my companions, we have come to combat at your side, and to shed our blood, if necessary, in defence of a common and so noble a cause. Let us hope that our example will have an influence on the erring children unworthy of belonging to Spain, who are waging a sacrilegious war against their mother country, to impose on her the most disgraceful chains by the slaves of slaves. All the English participate your hopes and sentiments.

"This will not be the first time of my combating on the side of the brave Spaniards. In the last war of independence I had on various occasions many thousands of them under my command, and in the field of Mars I learned to appreciate the rare and illustrious qualities of this invincible nation. In the war pretended to be in favour of the independence of Europe, I gained the *insignia* which I wear, and which are not due to the Allied Sovereigns, nor a reward for servile actions; I and many others have been deceived

by them, since instead of being the liberators and protectors of European independence, they have become unjust and despotic Sovereigns. I have placed my insignia over the uniform of a Spanish soldier of liberty, to show that it is not I who have abandoned my principles, but that it is they who have violated the obligations contracted with their subjects, with their allies, and with the whole civilized world.

"Now in the sacred name of my country, in the presence of God, and before these banners of liberty, I request of his Excellency to receive from me and my companions this oath to defend them."

"Sir Robert Wilson was in the Spanish uniform, decorated with all his Orders. Three hundred troops marched off immediately for actual service. A dinner was afterwards given in compliment to the English. Sir Robert, with the political chief on his right, and the general (governor) on his left, was placed under a canopy formed of the English, Spanish and Portuguese colours. Many appropriate toasts were drunk, followed by discharges of artillery, national songs, &c.; after which the company, attended by the band, marched through the streets, serenading the houses of all the principal inhabitants."

"Nothing can exceed the exertions of the people of this place; and they have a very respectable

force here ready for service, besides what has been already sent off. Every man throughout the country is a soldier, but they are in want of arms: every horse has been given up for the use of the army."

"*Vigo, May* 8.—Sir Robert Wilson and the other English officers set off this morning for Corunna. A guard of cavalry was appointed to attend them the whole way, and they were also accompanied by the Grenadier Company of Volunteers as far as Rodendella, where all the Civil Authorities with the Militia came out to meet them. At Pontvedesa they were received by the magistrates and soldiers in the same manner; besides which, they were met by some young ladies in a triumphal car, who placed a crown of laurel on Sir Robert's head, and conducted him into town amidst the rejoicings of the people, discharges of artillery, &c."

"*May* 15.—Sir Robert Wilson and the other English officers arrived at Corunna on the 10th, where they were received with every demonstration of joy."

No. II.

Convention between Sir Robert Wilson and the Spanish Government.

I HAVE heard it said there were some secret articles in this treaty.

I believe (but it is not worth inquiring into) that the English General was to have the command of some 40,000 of those base slaves, "the lowest of the low*," the Portuguese, from whom he had to deem himself fortunate in escaping with his life.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

General Staff. Section, No.

Convention made between Sir Robert Wilson and the Spanish Government, authorized by the Cortes, for the object of forming a Corps of Foreign Troops in the service of Spain.

1*st*, Sir Robert Wilson shall form a Corps of Foreign Troops, which shall be admitted into the Spanish service, the total amount of which shall

* Well doth the Spanish hind the difference know
'Twixt him and *Lusian slave, the lowest of the low.*
LORD BYRON. CHILDE HAROLD.

not exceed 10,000 men; one third part of which, as nearly as possible, is to be cavalry.

2d, The service of this corps is to continue during the war, and for one year more, if the Government shall find it expedient.

3d, From the present time Sir Robert Wilson shall be considered a Spanish Lieut.-General, and shall have his commission corresponding to this appointment, as soon as the fourth part of the troops shall have landed in the Peninsula.

4th, General Wilson shall appoint for the first and only time, the commanders and officers; the vacancies which may occur are to be filled up by the Spanish Government, on the proposal of the before-named General.

5th, The discipline of this corps shall be regulated by the military laws which General Wilson may propose, and of which the Cortes shall approve; nevertheless, at all times submitting itself to the civil law of Spain, to the organic law of the army, of the 9th of June, 1821, in the five cases stated by the 7th article; and finally, to the Spanish military laws, as far as relates to garrison and field duty.

6th, The battalions of infantry, as well of the line as of the light troops, shall consist of ten companies of an hundred men each; each company of the line is to have four officers, except

those of preference, which, together with those of the light infantry, shall have five officers. Each battalion of infantry shall have one Lieutenant-Colonel and two Majors.

7th, The regiments of cavalry are to be composed of five squadrons of two troops of ninety men each; each troop shall have four officers; each regiment a Lieutenant-Colonel and two Majors. The two Majors and the three senior Captains will command the squadrons.

8th, The soldiers of this corps are to have the same allowances as the Spanish. In case of being invalided in the service, they shall enjoy the pensions corresponding to the rank which they hold in the Spanish service.

9th, The muster is to be made by the Spanish Commissaries, who are to furnish the necessary requisitions for the service of the troops of which this part of the army is to be composed.

10th, In respect to plunder and booty, the same customs and orders shall regulate their distribution which shall be in force in the Spanish army.

11th, The Government is to provide every thing necessary for the service of hospitals, also provisions, ammunition, field train, and the canteen.

12th, In case of the death in action *(accion de guerra)* of any commander or officer, his widow

shall have a right to the same pension to which she would become entitled, if her husband had been a native Spaniard.

13*th*, Every individual of this corps of the army, shall have the power of disposing of his property freely, and without any impediment; either during his life, or when dying; and the same thing is to be understood of all the rights which accrue to him by virtue of this Convention.

14*th*, If any of the officers who have purchased their commissions in the native armies, shall die either in action, or by its consequences, or by infirmity during service in a campaign, their heirs shall be granted landed property, the value of which shall amount to three-fourths of the purchase-money of their before-mentioned commissions.

15*th*, The Spanish Government shall be pledged to grant pay and allowances, from the moment of their disembarkation in any port of the Peninsula.

16*th*, If the Government, by reason of an exhausted state of the treasury, should find itself unable to give the commanders, officers and private soldiers, the whole amount of their pay and allowances in money, the nation shall give remuneration to the amount, in property in lands

of a good quality, in the provinces of Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia, Estremadura and Castille.

17*th*, If Government shall possess pecuniary means, and that those who are interested prefer that mode of payment, they shall be satisfied by receiving in money whatever they may be entitled to.

18*th*, If at the conclusion of the war, or of the Convention, the *materiel* of the corps shall be maintained, its payment shall be regulated by a particular arrangement.

19*th*, The Spanish Government will recommend to the Commanders in Chief, not to dislocate nor detach part of the battalions or squadrons which compose this corps; keeping them united as much as possible, but they shall be authorized to divide it by battalions or squadrons whenever the good of the service, the preparation for action, or the convenience of cantonments shall require it.

20*th*, Incon junction with the national troops, both these and the foreigners who compose the body of the army, shall be commanded by the General in Chief appointed by the Government; in his absence, the command shall devolve upon the General, although inferior in rank, whom Government had previously appointed as second in command, in conformity with the practice and

orders of the Spanish armies; but taking into consideration the high military character (*el credito militar*) of General Wilson, no general officer of rank inferior to his own, shall succeed him in the chief command, except for most powerful reasons resulting from consideration for the general good. In default of this special appointment of a person to succeed the General in Chief, the accidental command (*el mando accidental*) of all the troops shall devolve upon the Commander of highest rank, or on the senior officer of equal rank, if they should happen to be of the same.

Seville, May 31, 1823.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

If, after the service of this corps shall have expired, any of the individuals who compose it may wish to retire to their native countries, the Spanish Government will furnish them with transports.

By virtue of the special power of the Government, Brigadier Adjutant General of the Chief Staff,
FERNANDO LUIS DE AQUILA.

By virtue of the authority of Sir Robert Wilson,
Signed, &c.

No. III.

The two following Documents possess a gentle and delightful interest, and are honourable memorials of the sentiments of the writers. The first is a translation of a Letter from Sir Robert Wilson, and the second an act of Amnesty by General Quiroga.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE been thinking very seriously on the subject of that capital punishment which awaits the leaders of the factious party brought in here last night, if after a trial they should be adjudged guilty.

Self-preservation is doubtless the right and duty of Governments, as well as of individuals. Conspiracies and insurrections against Governments, not only *de jure*, but even *de facto*, have always been considered as crimes justifying the forfeiture of life. Almost all modern Governments have put the law into execution with inflexible severity.

The Constitutional Government of Spain and Portugal have, however, shown more clemency than any preceding Government under similar circumstances, and it cannot be denied that this clemency has in many instances been abused.

But notwithstanding these admissions, there may be cases, and the present appears to be one of them, when more than doubts may be entertained as to the expediency of proceeding to the utmost rigor of the law.

The object of punishment is example, not vengeance. However a man may have deserved death according to any existing law, it would be unjustifiable to take away his life, if impunity did not endanger the interest of society. The criminal law here ought to be prospective, and not retrospective; but men may be dissuaded from doing ill as well as deterred from it by fear, and clemency has often produced benefits which justice administered with severity would have failed to attain.

Galicia generally has been submissive to the authority of the Constitutional laws; there have been but few outrages, and those of a predatory, rather than political character.

If there be a province where the spectacle of capital punishment is least required, it appears to be Galicia. This province seems more to be in need of encouragement to persevere in regularity, than of menace to prevent disorders. An act of grace would probably secure an increase of allegiance.

It would be a gratifying tribute of acknowledgment to the population at large, that their

conduct has merited the approbation of the authorities; and each man would feel, that he had contributed to rescue some of his fellow-men from an ignominious death.

Seasonable mercy may check the most violent in their designs, and must by the nature of things indispose the mass to listen to their suggestions. Time may thus be gained, that time, which is always of infinite value in civil dissentions, and more particularly in the state of this province, whose two months' continued repose may assure its safety against every external and internal enemy. In general, the sufferer not only displays fortitude, but a courage which captivates, and dies amidst the tears of commiseration and imprecation of revenge. It is only when murder has been committed, or purposed with atrocious circumstances, that the axe of the executioner falls without a murmur from the spectators.

Insignificant, and even bad men, by unnecessary punishment, are often made martyrs, and the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church.

This is a particular moment, the very crisis of our fate; a false step may produce irreparable mischief; forbearance can occasion no commensurate harm; such an act of generosity could not, and would not be mistaken for weakness. It would defy the most malignant representation. It is an act calculated to promote tranquillity in

the province, and in other countries it would tend greatly to kindle feelings which would assure the accomplishment of important objects.

Humanity is the spirit of the age, and must continue to be one of the principal features of the Spanish Constitutional system. It may be abused, but it can never fail in the end to secure ample compensation.

In submitting these remarks to you, I am submitting them to a man who has instruction, judgment, and knowledge of England as well as of his own country; and I am confident if you should think they deserve attention, that you will make them the subject of your consideration and active interposition.

I remain, with much regard,

Yours,

R. T. WILSON.

Vigo, 21st June, 1823.

To —— Deputy for Galicia.

"CITIZENS,

"Turn, all of you, whatever be your political opinions, turn your attention to the evil of the greatest magnitude by which the country which is our mother, and we ourselves, have been overwhelmed.

"That which we at present observe among us, is not a mere war of opinion on the nature of the system by which we are to be governed. That

this was so formerly, is a thing not contested; but now, those very persons who have declared their hostility to the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, well know, that another evil, and one the most pernicious in its consequences, we have brought upon ourselves by our own dissentions. Spaniards of every party find themselves insulted by the French; by those very French whom we repelled from our country, when we were nine years ago all united among ourselves.

"People of all classes, persons of every state and station, the armed bodies who defend the cause of liberty, and those who have arranged themselves as the defenders of absolutism, are without any distinction oppressed and insulted by the French army. On this account it is, therefore, that convinced of their error, and impelled by the wretchedness and privations which they endured, entire battalions of those who call themselves *feotas**, have deserted from their armies, and have united themselves with the Spaniards to oppose the invader.

"Do not believe that the Duke of Angouleme, or the Cabinet of Paris, have resolved, as they themselves profess, to restore our King to a throne which we have never compelled him to abdicate, and the defence of which cost us so dearly.

* *Feotas*, Men of the Faith.

"To acquire the dominion over Spain is that which they are bent on, for an object like that which was proposed to himself by Napoleon. He sought to lead us, after the conquest of Spain, that he might establish his domination over the North of Europe. The present Government of France holds us out as an offering to Russia, *(nos tiene ofrecidos a la Rusia)*, that by our assistance she may be able to effect the conquest of Turkey, a country which as yet she has been unable to subjugate. We are all about to be reduced to slavery, to be ruined, and expatriated, unless we are all in firm union among each other. Let not Spanish blood be shed by Spaniards. This would be for ever an indelible stain, which would render us deserving of abhorrence above all other people in the world. Let us combat, yes, to the last extremity, against those usurpers of our territory, and let us now not retain in memory the dissentions by which we were agitated, if we are anxious to preserve our existence, our wives, our children and our honor.

"I, in the name of our country, to which this measure, dictated by reason, cannot be a subject of disapprobation, offer, and concede a total oblivion *(olvido)* of all the errors into which so many have been precipitated, seduced by the wickedness of others. Those who are guilty of no other fault but that of having been united with

a faction, remain freed from the punishment which ought to be inflicted, excepting such as are already under sentence of condemnation, with this condition, that they solemnly swear before a minister of religion, not again to wage hostilities of any kind against the Spaniards.

"This amnesty, this grace, which they could not have ventured to hope, who, in consequence of the fatal terror of converting themselves into fierce enemies of their brothers, endure the deprivation of their liberty, inspires me with confidence, that, influenced by gratitude, and swayed by consideration for their own interest, they will joyfully embrace the opportunity of uniting themselves in the ranks of the defenders of the independence of their country. But if in this just war, any one shall hereafter take up arms in favour of the French forces in hostility to the cause of the Spanish nation, he shall undergo military execution in the moment of his apprehension.

"Our common mother requires of us, that we should be united; the state in which we are now, requires sacrifices, valour and constancy; war, war against the French—this I demand, and this I hope with confidence from all my fellow-citizens.

"ANTONIO QUIROGA."

No. IV.

Account of the Battle of Corunna, the Bombardment, and some other Incidents of the Siege; from the Official "Diario."

"THE GARRISON OF CORUNNA DID ITS DUTY."

THE CORPS THAT COMPOSED IT.

1st Brigade.

The Infantry of Granada.
The Active Militia of Bilboa.
The Volunteer Militia of the same town.

2nd Brigade.

The Infantry of Spain.
The United Volunteers.
The Free Battalion of Biscay.
The Foreign Legion.

3d Brigade.

The Active Militia of Ferrol.
The Active Militia of Villafranca.
The "Cazadores Liberales."
M. N. V. of Corunna.
The Detachments of Cividad Rodrigo, Salamanca, and Avila.

The 4th Regiment of Artillery.

The 4th Battalion of the Ordnance Train.

The Volunteer Cavalry of Biscay.

The Civic Sacred Battalion, formed of Officers only.

4th Army of Operations.

The Diary of Military Operations of the Garrison of Corunna, from the 14th of July to the 21st of August, 1823.

Day 14.—On this day the enemy's forces compelled the battalion of Granada to occupy a position between the bridge of Burgo, and Portazgo. On the same day an account was received of the capitulation of Ferrol, which surrendered without making any defence, and without sustaining any loss of such a nature as, according to the military code, could be deemed to be a cause to justify a capitulation—(" ni sufrir anres ninguna perdida de las prevenidas in las ordenenzas militares.")

General Quiroga, who commanded in chief, has given me permission to say, that the following account of the battle is a correct one: he also gave me the note relating to the surrender of Ferrol, which is here translated:

[" And although a junta of Chiefs, convened by the General, had offered to defend the town until a breach should be opened in the walls."]

"The battalion of Granada, already mentioned, occupied the streets and the barriers of St. Lucia, taking on the following day a position to support the "*obus*," which was planted on the royal road. At the same time the brigade of Colonel D. Juan Lopez Campillo took a position on the Windmill Hills, and the Hills of Nelle, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, and doing them as much injury as possible, in proportion to the force of our soldiers."

Day 15.—These heights having been occupied by the division already mentioned, composed of the battalion of the Active Militia of Bilboa, and the United Volunteers of Saint Sebastian and Victoria, a part of this force extended itself to the barrier of San Pedro, protecting two pieces of artillery planted on the heights. They remained covering this point until one o'clock in the afternoon of this day, when they were furiously attacked by superior forces, and notwithstanding the resistance which was made by the column, it was compelled to retreat, which it did in martial style, by the royal road, to the protection of the town, resisting until it had reached the covered way.

On the morning of this day the 2nd Battalion of Spain, commanded by Colonel Don Fermin Iriarte, also took a position on the heights of Santa Margarita, occupying the village of Biono,

and the houses in its vicinity; and at the moment when the enemy took possession of the Windmill Hills, the battalion retired on the town, keeping up a most animated fire.

All the artillery which was planted on the Windmill Hills, and the heights of Santa Lucia, retreated upon the town, without any loss, except of a single ammunition car, the horses of which could not be harnessed in time to bring it away. The enemy, deluded by these advantages, had the arrogance to pursue our troops to the immediate vicinity of the glacis, from whence they were repulsed by the fire of our batteries, and by a sudden sortie which was made by our gallant soldiers, who compelled them to retreat to the heights already mentioned, and took an officer and some soldiers prisoners.

It is highly credible, that the loss of the enemy on this evening, according to the most probable accounts and calculations, could not amount to less than eight hundred men between killed and wounded.

The loss of the Constitutional troops consisted of the death of the brave Commandant of National Volunteers of San Sebastian and Victoria, D. Miguel Soroa; and a lieutenant of the 2d Battalion of Spain, four second serjeants, one corporal, and forty-three soldiers wounded; also a captain, and two sub-lieutenants of Spain, and at

the same time the valiant Commander of Granada, Don Martinez Oraà, and an officer who received a contusion.

Of the artillery, one private was killed, and a corporal and two privates were wounded.

The English General, Sir Robert Wilson, and his Aid-de-camp Colonel Light, were also wounded in this action.

The two gun-boats Alcon and Terror did not contribute a little to the happy result of this day's engagement; they directed their fire with the greatest precision during the whole of the afternoon against the heights, the royal roads, and the cross-ways which were occupied by the enemy.

On the termination of the engagement, the invaders sent an envoy, who was not admitted, in consequence of the repugnance to his reception which was shewn by our soldiers—the effect of the valour and enthusiasm by which they were inspired.

It is impossible to form an adequate idea of the patriotism, decision and intrepidity which were displayed on this day by the brave commanders, the valiant officers, and meritorious *(benemeritos)* soldiers who were engaged in the action, and of all the troops who composed the garrison of the fortress: they were all ardent to attack the besiegers in the same style of gal-

lantry, and there was not one of them whose air did not evince the love he bore to liberty.

There were 14 discharges of our mortars, 18 of obus, and 146 of cannon of different calibres, with the object of dislodging the besiegers from the heights which commanded the town and the barriers of Santa Lucia and Riazor.

Day 16.—The first division was subdivided into three brigades, under the command of Colonels Don Juan Lopez Campillo, Don Gaspar Jaunegui, and Don Benito Losada. The defence of the citadel was particularly confided to the two first, and the service of the interior of the town to the third. The enemy remained in possession of the heights which they had occupied the day before, and detached some parties of fusileers, who, under shelter of the houses and rocks of Santa Lucia and Santa Margarita, directed their fire against the town, wherever they discovered any object at which they might take aim; but they themselves were placed in peril by the fire which was with great precision directed against them by our batteries and gun-boats.

One soldier of Spain was killed in this attack, and the Captain Don Antonio Ibarralo was wounded. Our artillery fired their mortars 12 times, their obus 16 times, and made 82 discharges of cannon of different calibres, with the intention of annoying the invaders in their in-

trenchments on the Windmill Hills.—One gunner was wounded.

Day 17.—The enemy in their positions continued extending the line of their fusileers, who kept up a fire of musquetry on the town. The gunners of the garrison answered the fire, as did also the gun-boats, which continued the destruction of the works which they appeared to have been constructing on the heights of the mills.

A magazine of muskets, ammunition, and flints, was established at Caramanchon, and the point of the tower, for the purpose of replacing the losses which occurred in the defence of the walls, and an order was issued, that all the troops should have as a supply of ammunition, 40 cartridges.

The artillery were provided with the combustibles necessary for setting those houses on fire in which the enemy had sheltered themselves.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the fire of the artillery of the besiegers burst from the point of Palloza. This they directed against the gun-boats, which returned the fire until they placed themselves under the protection of the guns of the castle of Saint Antonio, causing a loss to the enemy of five men killed and six wounded, and of a number who received contusions. After

this the cannonading ceased, and the fire of the musquetry alone continued.

The garrison fired cannon of different calibres 92 times, with the same object as on the former day.

Day 18—

Day 19, 20, &c. &c.

July 31.—On this night the Field-marshal Don Pedro Mendez de Vigo embarked for Vigo, with the intention of organizing the troops of this province, accompanied for this purpose by 1 colonel, 4 captains, 9 lieutenants, 3 sub-lieutenants, 1 surgeon-major, a first-assistant of pharmacy, and 38 soldiers. At the same time his Excellency Senor General Don Antonio Quiroga and his Aids-de-camp embarked for Cadiz.

August 1, 2, &c.

August 5.—In the general orders of this day was announced the arrival of an English schooner, with a donation which was sent us by "the friends of Spanish Liberty in England;" five hundred muskets, and an equal number of sets of accoutrements. The greatest part of these was sent to Vigo, to be distributed among those who in that fortress were unprovided.

The enemy's works proceed with the greatest activity, and their fusileers continue, under shelter of the rocks, to keep up a fire of musquetry.

Our artillery fired 10 shells, 6 obus, and sixteen cannon.

August 6.—The operations of this day commenced with a slow fire from the batteries on the fusileers of the enemy, who annoyed us by the fire of their musquetry, until about half after two o'clock in the afternoon, when they sent an envoy to demand that the town should be surrendered. —The answer was a negative.—The Chief of the Staff, Antonio Van Hallen, took the charge of delivering it into the hands of the envoy, to whom he gave ten minutes to place himself in security. As soon as this interval had expired, a more animated cannonade commenced on both sides, accompanied by a firing of musquetry.

A frigate of war, a corvette, a French brig of war, a Spanish brig, and the two gun-boats Alcon and Terror, which had deserted to the enemy on the morning of the 18th, presented themselves cruising before the town. A steady cannonade was kept up by the frigate, which approached our batteries on the "Orzan" until she was compelled to retreat by their fire and that of the other battery on the sea-side of the town.

The enemy, from the four batteries which they had formed on the heights of the Windmills, from Nelle, and from above La Palloza, commenced a furious (*summamente vivo*) fire of grenades, "bala

rasa," and other incendiary missiles, which had been deposited in the arsenal of Ferrol, and which the enemy had prepared by mixing combustibles. They discharged these in a determinate direction, in a variety of different lines; that is to say, with the intention of burning the quarter of the city called the "Pescaderia," the most beautiful part of Corunua, and where the commerce was most flourishing. They must have succeeded in their attempt if the fire had taken effect in all the incendiary balls. But their depraved malice, *(deprabada malicia)* could not attain its purpose; they then began to burn a number of houses in the Canton of Lacy, the streets of St. Andres, St. Nicholas Cordeleria, &c.

They scarcely directed the fire of their cannon against the fortifications; but in order to prevent the townsmen from extinguishing the flames, they discharged incendiary "*balas rasas*" at the houses which were burning; many lamentable circumstances occurred in consequence. This horrible conduct continued until the end of the day, no loss having been sustained by us in the batteries, except the death of the excellent *("benemerito")* Colonel of Artillery, D. Pedro Del Barca.

The artillery of the town and of the castle of Saint Antonio discharged against the enemy 195

shells from mortars; there were 252 discharges of obus, and 332 of cannon.

August 7.—&c. &c. &c.

August 21.—At half after nine o'clock General Morillo entered the town, and took the command, &c. &c.

The above Extracts, which I have selected from the military "*Diario*" of Corunna, will, I believe, be found to be some of the most intetesting.

No. V.

Sketch of the Affairs of Galicia; and Sir Robert Wilson's Correspondence with Morillo, referred to from Chapter Seventeen.

As the policy in which this Correspondence had its commencement was approved of in a Council of War, and by the Civil Authorities of Corunna; as its renewal was resolved on in the Junta of Vigo, with the concurrence of the Commissioner of the Government of Cadiz; and as the Spanish Ministry ultimately confirmed by its sanction the principle in which it had its origin, I shall enter into the subject with more minuteness than usual.

The mere publication of the two first letters which passed between them, would be quite sufficient to prove that the English General was, under

Morillo's own hand, not only abundantly authorized to continue the correspondence, but must have been very remiss and inconsistent with his own principle, unless he protracted it to the utmost on such a concession.

"*You, Senor General, as well as your illustrious friends, may assist to fix in an honorable and suitable manner, the fate, &c.—*"

Again—"I conclude by supplicating you, to use the influence which you possess over the leaders of Corunna, that you will dispose them to embrace the means of conciliation, and not cause, &c."—"and justice and peace shall reign together."

"Again I ask your Excellency not to neglect the means of rendering this country such an important service, worthy of a true Liberal, and if you succeed, I assure your Excellency, &c. &c."

Morillo himself, however, abruptly put an end to any further communication, by his letter dated Salcido, August 1, in which he declares, that he is not authorized to assure the fulfilment of any conditions which might be agreed on, as he was not aware that Sir Robert Wilson was invested with any public character. I take the words from the Cadiz journals, which were translated from the English.

"La Paz y el honor nacional son el objeto constante de mis deseos. Para conseguir lo uno

y lo otro, seria quizas necesario entrar en negociaciones, pero yo no estoy autorizado ni puedo salir garante de que se cumpliran las condiciones convenidas; pues no alcanzo que tenga V. E. caracter alguno publico, &c."

The allusion to the incontrovertible fact, that Sir Robert Wilson had not any recognized authority for entering into negotiations, which has been represented as a sarcastic rebuke by the traitor general, was in reality one of the primary elements on which the military mediator had founded his calculation.

The following is a hasty sketch of the affairs of Galicia at the period when this fencing with the foil and mask, or this fire of blank cartridge, was kept up between the two.

Even before the separation of Morillo from the cause of the Constitutional Government, the military force in Galicia was inadequate to the defence of the province upon the frontiers of the Asturias, Leon, and Castille.

The defection of that General operated detrimentally, not only by its proximate consequence, withdrawing a certain portion of the Constitutional army, but also mediately, as was to be expected, by introducing insubordination, confusion, distrust, and an universal moral disorganization of every military and political establishment.

Notwithstanding the high tone of resistance at Corunna, its state was fearful; some of those who were most ardently attached to the cause of the Constitution, considered actual defence as chimerical, and fled, in anticipation of a surrender the moment the army of the enemy should appear before its walls.

Quiroga exerted himself with fervid energy to overcome the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and Sir Robert Wilson co-operated with his characteristic enthusiasm. Quiroga had written to him, to go "to Corunna to augment the ranks of the brave;" and although he was at the time only a volunteer in the national army, so genial was the sentiment inspired by his presence, in his two-fold character, in that of the representative of England, contra-distinguished from her Government, and in his own, that the Spaniards generously conceded to him the exercise of very extensive influence in the affairs of their country.

Secret relations between Morillo and the enemy were strongly suspected; Quiroga had very early fathomed his intentions, and the occurrence of a particular event, was supposed to afford a favorable opportunity of ascertaining, whether the suspicions of his constitutional putrefaction were well founded, or the contrary.

The event to which I allude, was the re

assumption of the regal authority by Ferdinand, after its suspension by a decree of the Cortes, which would do honor to a senate of the unhappy inmates of a lunatic asylum. They voted that he should be insane and without authority, between the city of Seville and the Isla Gaditana; and that he should be rational and royal upon his arrival at Cadiz!!

A Council of War was held at Corunna, and the expediency of transmitting the following letter to Morillo, was assented to by all the members of the council, and by the civil authorities.

Colonel Light was the officer selected by Sir Robert Wilson, as the bearer of this letter. I do not know what might have been his private instructions, but as far as I can venture to form any conjecture, they were perfectly in unison with the written communication.

"MONSIEUR LE GENERAL,

"The step I am now taking, cannot, I flatter myself, fail to be considered by your Excellency as a measure in conformity with my professions, my principles, and my duties.

"My correspondence, and the public documents, have acquainted your Excellency, that some of the most distinguished individuals of my country, uniting themselves with their fellow-citizens of all classes, have adopted proceedings to assure to Spain immediate and powerful succours, to

augment her means of defence against an invader, who violating the rights of nations, seeks at the expence of Spanish honor to dictate to her laws.

"Charged on the part of my countrymen to administer these succours, which they are sending with all expedition to Galicia, and the early arrival of which I am authorized to expect*, by a letter written by the minister of Spain in London, of the date of the 29th June, and received yesterday; I find myself in a delicate and difficult position, from a desire to execute my duty towards Spain, and towards that portion of my friends in England, who have constituted me their representative.

"Events which I will not now permit myself to discuss, have thrown me into this most painful embarrassment; but not to fail in any of my obligations, and do a wrong when I am ready to make any sacrifice for the common good, I have resolved to address myself directly to your Excellency, that I may in the most perfect manner obtain, on the good faith of your Excellency, all those explanations which I stand in need of, for my guidance.

"The enemy, as I am assured, threatens the immediate invasion of Galicia, notwithstanding

* Sir Robert Wilson *was* authorized to expect them. I know the Galicians were disappointed, but we could not "sail in the teeth of the wind."

the remonstrances made by your Excellency, and contained in the Proclamations issued, under the impression that his Majesty the King of Spain was no longer in the exercise of his regal functions; but according to a document which bears all the character of an official act, and of which I send you a copy, his Majesty, immediately after his removal from Seville to the Isle de Leon, found himself restored to the exercise of all his Constitutional authority.

"Under such a change of circumstances, am I authorized or not, to give to the English nation an assurance that the invader will meet in your Excellency with an enemy whose talents, courage, and resources of mind, my countrymen will well know how to appreciate?

"May they flatter themselves that your Excellency, whatever may be your opinions as to the legislative measures which it would be expedient to adopt, to insure that interior pacification which every friend of liberty and humanity must ardently desire, will defend, not only the honor and the rights of your country, but of the civilized world, from being trampled under foot by an illegal combination of Sovereigns, who seek with arms in their hands to impose their will as fundamental laws, upon countries which ought to be independent of all foreign jurisdiction?

"I do not conceal from your Excellency, that I

always regarded Galicia as the cradle of safety for Spain, and that I conceive the independence and liberty of Spain might be secured from the commanding positions of this province.

"It was with this view I sought to arm Galicia at all points, and at the same time to encourage a spirit of conciliation among all the inhabitants. These motives, added to feelings of humanity, urged me to solicit from General Quiroga the life of the Governor of Marina, and recently to renew my solicitations in favor of the prisoners who had been arrested in the province of Vigo.

"I have, however, had to regret, that I could not find an occasion to communicate in person to your Excellency my objects and opinions.

"It is for your Excellency to decide upon the answer I request; but I persuade myself that your Excellency will do me the justice to believe, that in this proceeding I am only desirous to fulfil with propriety, my engagements to the cause which I am ambitious of supporting.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "ROBERT T. WILSON.

"*Corunna, July* 8, 1823.

"*To His Excellency the Count of Carthagena, &c. &c. &c.*"

The following answer was returned by Morillo, dated Lugo, 9th July, 1823.

" FOURTH ARMY OF OPERATIONS.

" General in Chief.

" SENOR GENERAL,

" I have received the letter of your Excellency, and though from pressure of time, and other circumstances, I might avoid giving an answer to your Excellency respecting my conduct and my projects, I nevertheless think it expedient to give your Excellency in detail a relation of events.

" Your Excellency and your friends have doubtless believed, that there existed a powerful party in Spain, ready to repel to every extremity foreign intervention; and that the Government and the Cortes had prepared all the means of resistance, and possessed sufficient credit to make the war *national*.

" Many Spaniards thought the same; but the result has so dissipated these illusions, that from the first days of invasion, no doubt could exist that the people detested the war, and received the French as their liberators. These consequences would have been easily foreseen, by an impartial examination of the tone of public opinion in all the provinces of the monarchy.

"Those Spaniards, nevertheless, who knew and loved the true interests of their country, did not lose their hopes; they believed that the conduct of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro, would convince the Cortes and the Government of the critical state of *their* position, and they thought that *the useful* of the Revolution might be preserved, by interposing the mediation of the English Government, which has always offered its intervention.

"Nevertheless, the Cortes and the Government pursued their fatal march, and still the men of character believed that new elucidations would put the Spanish Government in the path of reason. The occupation of the capital, the overthrow of the Constitutional Regime in Portugal, even the invasion of Andalusia, were however not sufficient disasters to induce the Government and Cortes, when in Seville, to take a resolution capable of conciliating the interests of the people with the honour of the nation.

"The Cortes, far from saving themselves, and as in the only mode that remained, tumultuously despoiled the King of his authority, and shattered to pieces the Constitution and their own regulations.

"What followed afterwards in five-sixth parts of the Spanish territory?

"All the people cried with one voice against the

order of things lately established, and lent such effectual assistance to the French, that one hundred thousand men commanded from the Bidassoa to the Guadalquiver, and from the mouth of the Ebro and of the Jucar to the Asturias and Galicia.

"Our armies had disappeared almost entirely: the soldiers that remained would not oppose any number of French, however small, who presented themselves; for, being impregnated with the spirit of the people, they abhorred the war, and refused to fight.

"The Cortes, by its obstinacy, abandoned the provinces to the discretion of the foreign and domestic enemies; and those persecutions and insults which had been previously experienced under the cry of liberty, were now succeeded by others in the name of the King.

"Those who had been obliged to emigrate under the former government, and those who were now released from the prisons, shouted cries of vengeance and extermination, and in many places indulged all the fury of the passions.

"Even the Deputies of the Cortes were attacked on their departure from Seville, and the people endeavoured to prevent the entrance of the third army.

"A multitude of Deputies, almost all the Counsellors of State, Ministers, Secretaries, and Tri-

bunals, remained in Seville, and refused, *as well as the British Ambassador*, to follow a Government which persisted not only to oppose the opinion of Europe*, *but of its own nation*, and which left us deprived of the only means on which we could rely, to oppose a remedy to so many evils. Thus the Deputies who still called themselves the Cortes, went to Cadiz, carrying with them the execration of the people, for abandoning us at discretion to anarchy, and the fury of party spirit.

"In this situation, it was my duty to think seriously on the mode of protecting these provinces from the evils which threatened them, and to give a *point d'appui* to the men of respectable character of the whole of the Peninsula, *and even to such of all Europe*, as desired our happiness, to the end that a reasonable Government, which might have for its basis the liberty of the King, should replace the actual confusion and disorder.

"Your Excellency cannot be ignorant of my intentions, since you have seen the Proclamations I have made to the public; your Excellency must have seen also, that my declarations, founded upon the greatest purity of sentiment,

* Sancho somewhere says to his master, that "his fame shall extend not only through the whole world, but also through La Mancha. —*Don Quixotte.*

and the most vehement desire for the prosperity of my country, have raised the authorities which belong to factions against me, who took every measure to seduce the troops and the people, even to propose marching troops against me, which would have been done, if the soldiers had not shewn that they could not be counted upon in an enterprize so disgraceful. From that moment my projects were frustrated, and I could not preserve this province from an invasion. The French are advancing, and I cannot continue a war without object, and in opposition to the whole nation.

"But I have required from them all the guarantees which are requisite to secure persons, opinions, and property, and to co-operate with them in the accomplishment of these most important objects.

"*You, Senor General, as well as your illustrious friends, may assist to fix in an honorable and suitable manner, the fate of unfortunate Spain.* You ought to know that the nation does not desire war, and if you want useful illustrations upon this point, send impartial persons who merit your confidence, to examine the soldiers of this garrison.

"You must agree with me, that there is no object in the war, so that the question is reduced to ascertain, if anarchy and disorder should be

prolonged some days more, to please factions, to give them an opportunity of pillaging the people, and to place in security certain persons who say of themselves, that they are compromised in the cause of liberty, but who have only been compromised by their crimes, their intolerance, and a desire to preserve certain authorities in their posts.

"Reflect, if such a state of things be fit to interest those who love true liberty, and if the succours of the *Liberals* of England would be well employed, in sustaining anarchy and disorder in Spain.

"I have thought it necessary to reply to your Excellency with all this frankness, and now I conclude, by supplicating you to use the influence which you possess over the leaders of Corunna, that you will dispose them to embrace the means of conciliation, and not cause vexations to the inhabitants, not to require from them nor from the troops useless sacrifices, which the soldiers will no more make. All those who wish to place their persons and effects in safety, may do so, and I will assure them the time and the means they may require. No one shall be persecuted for his former political opinions and conduct, and whether they wish to reside where I do, or not, if they will obey my orders, they shall have an absolute guarantee of persons and

property; and peace and justice shall reign together.

"*Again I ask your Excellency not to neglect the means of rendering this country such an important service, worthy of a true Liberal; and if you succeed, I assure your Excellency that, whether you will remain amongst us, or remove to some other country, you will ever be the object of the benedictions* of the Galliegos, and particularly of the inhabitants of Corunna, whom you will have preserved from infinite misfortunes.

"I am, with the most distinguished consideration,

"Your Excellency's

"&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "COUNT OF CARTHAGENA.

"*Head-Quarters,*

"*Lugo, 9th July,* 1823.

"*Lieut.-Gen. Sir Robert Wilson,*

&c. &c. &c."

This letter of Morillo, recommending submission to the French, terminated the correspondence at Corunna; but an advantage, and a most important one, resulted from the avowal of his sentiments, for by acknowledging his engagements with the French, he essentially weakened

the influence and power of which he had been before the possessor.

The spirit of the military Constitutionalists was improved; yet still the population of Corunna, divided in political opinion, impatient under privation, and under the apprehension of a bombardment, was only kept under control by the gallant example, and by dread of the patriotic ardour of the officers and soldiers.

The population of Corunna was about 20,000, the besieging force 7000, and the garrison not more than 2000 effective; of which several hundred were *Facciosos,* prisoners who had been released on the condition of their performing military service. The total force was made up of detachments, skeleton corps, and militia*.

There are circumstances which, by reason of certain private considerations, I forbear from mentioning—it is sufficient that I should include all in the general affirmation, that the defence of Corunna was one of the most remarkable incidents of the war in Spain.

When Sir Robert Wilson arrived at Vigo in the latter end (the 25th) of July, after he had been wounded in the battle, all was in a state of

* General Palarea had withdrawn 800 of the best men in the garrison, when he marched out for the purpose of forming his corps.

alarm and consternation. The General commanding had been compelled by a tumultuous ebullition of the zeal of the inhabitants, to send out a column of 800 men to attack the troops of Morillo, who had possessed himself of the Puento Sampayo; and this column had been surprized—if not betrayed—routed, and dispersed.

Morillo had reached Redondello, not more than two leagues from Vigo; his detachments occupied Foliguo, a point that intersected the communication with Orense, and connected him with the *Facciosos* of Zug and Guardia. From Redondello his summons to surrender had been sent to Vigo, and the Junta was sitting, in the very act of deciding upon sending a submission, as there were not more than 500 men in the town, including the Civic Volunteers.

It was of the very utmost importance that time should be gained, that the troops of General Palarea and of Orense might form an union with those of Vigo.

The correspondence which had its commencement at Corunna, was now renewed at Vigo, with the concurrence not only of all the authorities, military and civil, but even the Commissioner of the Constitutional Government, who had just arrived from Cadiz, made himself a party by writing the following letter, which may be considered a very appropriate introduction to

those between Sir Robert Wilson and Morillo, which appeared in the public journals.

From S—— C——, Commissioner sent to the Province of Galicia by the Constitutional Government at Cadiz, to General Morillo.

His Excellency the Count of Carthagena.

MUCH RESPECTED GENERAL,

Under what a melancholy change of circumstances, from those which existed at no distant period, do I now take up my pen to write to you! Fortune had afforded me an opportunity of approaching you with information, instructions, and all you could have devised, and which would have tranquillized your mind, respecting the operations of the legitimate Spanish Government, by which I had been deputed to expound its frank and just course of proceeding; but a thousand adverse incidents impeded me, and prevented my reaching you, as I should have done, in three, four, or five days subsequent to my departure from Cadiz in the English steam packet. Perhaps in this detention has originated the load of incalculable misfortunes in which the man from whom even his bitterest enemies could never anticipate such a course of conduct, has involved himself and his country.

I reached this port the day before yesterday in

the morning, and in consequence of what occurred that day, and the arrival of the English General Sir Robert Wilson, it was UNANIMOUSLY AGREED ON, that an English officer should proceed with a flag of truce to your outposts, and, in consideration of the friendship with which you have always honored me, it was at the same time determined that I should accompany him.

In pursuance of this, I believed I should have had the satisfaction of our meeting, and having some conference and discussion. After I should have made you acquainted with the object of my visit, as far as might be done with prudence, I hoped that, by the impulse of a noble and generous heart, full of love for your country, you would have receded from your former course of conduct—conduct which has sunk in sorrow and affliction all honest men who love their country—as it has, on the contrary, filled with pride and joy the accursed revolutionists, and has given an increase of confidence to our detestable and perfidious enemies, by this gigantic stride towards the success of the project which they have in contemplation. This interview did not take place, having been prevented by your unexpected retreat to Redondello, and although General Wilson, who remains here, intends to adopt every possible means by which a communication of so much interest may take place between you both,

I cannot now take a part in it, as the steam vessel will this evening depart for Corunna, and I am to go by her, to conclude the commission which I have been ordered to execute. I cannot describe to you, how deeply I lament that we have not been able to meet; I hoped that, with your knowledge of my opinions, liberal, frank, and entirely independent of every party and society, as well at this moment as ever; and your knowledge of my character, decided and firm in support of the liberty, honor, and independence of my country; you would have listened to my explanation of circumstances, to your ignorance of which, may be perhaps in a great measure attributed your present situation.

Ah Puente de Sampayo! What an enormous contrast between that period, when my virtuous countrymen proclaimed the Spaniard Morillo liberator of Galicia on that glorious theatre of his triumphs, to the present, in which we behold him degraded, and the object of the horror and execration of these same Galicians, whom he has bereft of their sons, brothers, and husbands, to support the most iniquitous cause, and in contradiction to his repeated and most sacred oaths.

I am quite overpowered by emotion; therefore, General, be not surprized at the disorder of my ideas, or the boldness of my reflections; you know how many, many times I have risked my

own character in support of yours, and you may judge with what feelings I must present myself in Cadiz, on my return, where I shall be to every one the object of mockery and scorn.

What a dreadful misfortune! Should the author and agent of it ever fall into my hands, he is well known.

General Wilson, who, as I have said above, is about to enter into communications with you, is adorned with qualities worthy the esteem and value of every good man, and I should be exceedingly happy that you could become acquainted with him.

In the name of the Omnipotent God, of our country, and for the recovery of your own honor, I entreat, and implore of you, to unite yourself with this distinguished general; not to turn your arms against the French, with whom you are in co-operation, but to carry into effect the humane and virtuous plan, full of honor and good faith, of an Englishman of truth and fidelity, in opposition to the abominable and eternally detestable falshood of every Frenchman; which has for its basis, the cessation of the most disastrous waste of Spanish blood—that Spanish blood should not be shed by Morillo!

The grief which consumes and overpowers my faculties, does not permit my proceeding farther, nor adding more than the petition of my prayers,

full of sincerity, true patriotism, and real friendship, which can never depart from the heart of

Your friend and servant,

(Signed) S—— C——

Vigo, July 26, 1823.

At this time, the state of helplessness in which the English General was placed by his wound, rendered any kind of personal military exertion utterly impossible.

The interchange of letters was continued until that proposition was made in writing, which for many reasons it was the object of Sir Robert Wilson, and the Constitutional Authorities of Galicia, to have made in person. Morillo was, however, under some apprehensions of the disposition of his troops, and jealous of the appearance of the foreign General, as they had given indications not to be mistaken, of a disposition to recognize in the Englishman the defender of the cause, of which their Spanish commander had sworn to be the supporter, and the adherent to that oath which their renegade ringleader had seduced them to violate.

The proposition now sent had for its avowed object to gain time, to be measured by a scale of no limited extension; but the state of Vigo was at this period one of such alarm and agitation, that obtaining even the smallest portion was of

inestimable value, to promote the restoration of order and confidence, and to assist in the dislocation of the forces, even though it should be deemed necessary that Vigo itself should be ultimately abandoned.

When the Junta came to the resolution that the correspondence should be renewed between the English General and the recreant Count of Carthagena, the arguments made use of were to the following effect: "Should Morillo accede to the proposition, *and that proposition was founded upon his own suggestion,* (vide Lugo letter), an armistice would be obtained; and Corunna would be relieved and secured from many impending and otherwise inevitable dangers."

"Should Morillo decline acceding to the proposition, and continue hostilities—the notorious fact of his refusal to enter into negotiations *solicited by himself* at Lugo, would of course not be without influence, to the prejudice of his authority, and the enfeebling of his power."

The Spanish Government could not complain of the proposition as an injury to their cause;—whether it should be accepted or rejected; not only the Government was not committed, but even no individual Spaniard—it was a proposition made by a foreigner upon his own responsibility—the Government might disavow, or avow him, just as one course or the other might

happen to be best adapted to the public interest. This was distinctly understood to be the intention even of the proposer himself, who, when he enumerated the advantages of acceding to the course which he recommended to the Junta for its adoption, stated his view of the subject in relation to Spain and to England in the following manner:—"In relation to Spain," he said, "that if Morillo should accept of the proposition, a month's security would be obtained both for Vigo and Corunna, under circumstances the most favorable to the interests and policy of the Constitutional Government. In respect to England," he asserted, "that her Government could not with justice complain of the offer; it had always proposed its mediation; the desire of intervention stood recorded in the documents of greatest publicity which had been submitted to Parliament. Should England charge herself with the office of a friendly mediator, Spain will renew her financial credit upon the assurance either that a peace will be obtained on terms satisfactory to the Constitutional party, or England will eventually become her ally in resisting the ambition of France, and the violence of the intolerance of the Regency of Madrid." I have been informed that Sir Robert Wilson argued in the Junta, that the Regency would be abandoned by many of those who were then its adherents, as they despaired

of the success of the Constitutionalists, by reason of a presumption of the hostility of England.

Without one word of this previous explanation, has the subsequent truncated correspondence between the two Generals (from Vigo, Pontevedra, and Salcedo) been pursuing Sir Robert Wilson through the world, like Orgoglio in the *Orlando* of Ariosto, running after its head!

I take from a Spanish journal the propositions sent to Morillo; they appeared in the correspondence in the English papers. They had been previously communicated to the English Ministry.

Proposiciones de que se hace mencion en la antecedente carta.

Conseguir la paz, conservando el honor nacional y el sistema representativo, base del gobierno constitucional; este debe ser el deseo de todo amigo de su patria y de sus libertades.

Cuando se discuten los negocios del estado, debemos examinar las cosas cuales son en si, y no como desearíamos que fuesen.

No hay persona alguna que sea insensible á la injusticia de la actual guerra, pero una vez que ha principiado, debemos poner toda nuestra atencion en los medios de conservar el honor

nacional, y de adquirir al mismo tiempo todas las ventajas posibles.

El gran obstáculo que se pone á la pacificacion de Espana, consiste en la presencia de un egército estrangero que procura esta misma pacificacion con las armas en la mano, en favor de un partido que depende enteramente de las ventajas del mismo egército.

La Inglaterra ofrece su mediacion sin pedir que se retire el egército estrangero.

Existe algun medio de establecer la igualdad entre los diferentes partidos, sin pedir que se evacue el territorio Espanol?

La ocupacion *pro forma* de una plaza fuerte de Espana, como la de la Coruna ó Vigo, por el gobierno Inglés en calidad de mediator por parte de la Espana constitucional, podria servir para contrabalancear los partido, y facilitaria la pacificacion, sacando á salvo el honor de los constitucionales, y dando todas las garantias suficientes.

Es imposible tratar con honor, á no ser que se sostenga con igualdad á los dos partidos epuestos, cuando se trata de arreglar las disensiones que dividen un pais al cual pertenecen las dos partes.

R. WILSON.

Vigo, 30 *de Julio*.

Otra Proposicion.

A la evacuacion del territorio espanol se opondra quiza la regencia de Madrid, porque creerá compromedita su seguridad viéndose privada de la fuerza que la sostiene.

Sin la garantia propuesta, el gobierno de Cadiz no inspiraria bastante confianza á la nacion, para inclinarla á entablar una negociacion que podria terminarse por un tratado de paz.

Entrando en negociacion sin una garantia semejante, tendria las apariencias de ceder á la fuerza, y en este caso el resultado seria funesto á la autoridad del gobierno; de donde resultaria probablemente la anarquia, y las consecuencias en las circunstancias actuales podrian conducir á la nacion á desastres mucho mayores.

R. WILSON.

Vigo, 30 *de Julio*.

In order to prove the fervor of the Constitutional spirit in Spain before it was dissipated and evaporated by the treasons of Abisbal, Morillo, and Ballesteros, I take the following as the fact of the most overwhelming conviction.

When the war actually commenced, the most important fortresses were still to be put into a state of

repair and provisioned; Conscripts were to be inrolled and equipped; national levies were to be raised, clothed, and armed; money to be procured, and provisions were to be made for the maintenance of public order.

In such a state of things it was not surprizing that the French army, with numerous cavalry and a powerful artillery, should penetrate through the open country; but it was truly surprizing that, under such circumstances, so much successful energy should have been shown by the Spaniards, as to prevent for so long a time as they did, the capture of any fortress or *place d'armes*, though so many of them were quite destitute at the moment of the invasion.

Such vigorous efforts not only confer honor on the exertion of the Spanish authorities, but they prove how powerfully the feelings and sentiments of the Spanish nation were in favor of the cause which it was required to defend. For otherwise, could provisions, could stores, could labour, could reinforcements, have been obtained? Or if the people had been adverse, could that money which was essential for so many payments, have been procured by gift, loan, or contribution? No.—Where were the troops to enforce obedience in the inhabitants? to enforce their aids and services, and at the same time to perform garrison and military duties in the field?

No. VI.

Commercial Intercourse between Spain and England.

I KNOW on incontestible authority, that the late Constitutional Government felt solicitude to promote a commercial intercourse between England and Spain.

Yandiola, the Minister of Finance, immediately on coming into office, *spontaneously* took measures to promote a plan for uniting the commercial interests of the two countries, by a relaxation of the laws prohibiting the introduction of English goods into the Peninsula.

The Constitutional ministry considered the prohibition to have been to the mutual detriment of both countries.

Yandiola's opinion was expressed decisively on this point, that if the introduction of British goods should be permitted, upon the payment of fair and moderate duties, the stream of commerce would be restored to its proper channel, illicit trade would cease to have existence, and the financial resources of Spain would be considerably augmented.

No. VII.

Account of Riego's Retreat from Malaga towards Carthagena, commenced on the 2d Sept. 1823.

THE following account of the last retreat of the ill-fated Riego, will, I am sure, be read with interest; it was written by Mr. Hasker (who was serving in his army). This gentleman, after having been made prisoner, was treated most cruelly by the Royalists, plundered, stripped, and placed in a dungeon at Lorca; and during the time of his confinement was left to languish in a state, which it would be painful to the reader to have described too minutely.

Extract of a Letter.

"*Lorca, Oct.* 4, 1823.

"On the 3d of September we reached Velez Malaga, five leagues, leaving four hundred men, infantry and cavalry, to protect, or rather to negotiate with the French for the preservation of Malaga from the fury of the marauding mountaineers; who, contrary to their expectations, and to the conduct of the French hitherto on similar occasions, were made prisoners of war, but kindly treated. On the succeeding day we arrived at Neija, a distance of four leagues,

where we learned that the French, in some force, were at Almunecaz, four leagues in front, and on our line of march, which obliged the General to change his direction to his left, over an almost inaccessible group of mountains connected with the Sierra Nevada; in traversing which we spent two days and nights, without finding a house or refreshment until we arrived at Allena, a small village north-east of Alhama, where we halted about three hours; after which, in as many more, we crossed the great road between the last-mentioned town and Grenada, at the Ventas de Huelma, whence we dislodged a French detachment without loss on either side, and continued our route to Villa-Nueva, an inconsiderable village on the right bank of the Genil, a league east of Loja, where there was a considerable French garrison; here we slept, and recruited our sinking wearied limbs, and on the following morning marched three leagues to Monte-Frio; and had scarcely got into quarters when the drums beat to arms, and in good order and spirits took up a position on the neighbouring heights, to which the French advanced with rapidity a body of lancers; and skirmishing commenced, in which Matthews, whom you will recollect, killed one of their officers, by running him through the body, receiving a slight wound in the neck. After a short time, and a trifling loss on both sides, the French, awed by our imposing attitude, thought

it prudent to retire towards Grenada, and our troops to the town, where we took some refreshment, and marched for Priego, which we reached next day about twelve o'clock, after a painful circuitous march of five leagues, owing to our having lost our way, from the ignorance or treachery of the guide, and the great obscurity of the night.

"At half a league from Priego, we found to our great surprise, the troops of Ballesteros drawn up in order of battle, to dispute our passage to the town: some vollies were discharged, and lives lost on both sides, amongst others one of Riego's aids-de-camp; and the affair would have been, no doubt, sanguinary, had not Riego with much coolness rode up unaccompanied, to his own old regiment of Asturias, reminding them of their former patriotic exploits, sufferings, and united exertions, in favour of the Constitution in the Isla de Leon: on which they generously discharged their pieces in the air, with long and loud vivas to Riego; and it is supposed if he had availed himself of their enthusiasm at the moment, the life of Ballesteros would have been sacrificed on the slightest insinuation.

"Firing ceased, the Generals met and embraced; the troops of the latter marched into the town, and we followed. In the afternoon a meeting of the Generals and principal officers of both armies took place, in which Riego in-

veighed bitterly against certain officers of his friend's army, accusing them of being the authors of the capitulation, by surprising the unwary heart of the brave and honest Arragonese general, who sat in silent dejection, and evident symptoms of painful remorse, for the deadly wounds which he had perhaps incautiously inflicted on his hapless country. Riego's object, however, of recalling the General, or at least the greatest part of his troops to a sense of their duty towards their distracted country, was frustrated: a cool and sullen separation took place, and the junta dissolved.

"Report adds, but I cannot warrant its authenticity, that the disappointed General had, at a later hour towards night, arrested the other, by surprising his guard, but on reflection, and sounding the disposition of his prisoner's troops, found the measure would have been productive of dangerous consequences, and accordingly had him liberated; he however made himself master of his luggage mules, to relieve his own, which were literally unable to proceed a step further; and marched at day-light, leaving behind him, through hurry or neglect, an officer in charge of considerable treasure, of which he would have been doubtless robbed by the populace, had not Ballesteros, after some severe reflections on Riego's conduct towards him, generously saved it, and furnished the conductor with an escort of

his own troops, till he arrived at Alcandete; where we halted a short time, and proceeded to Martos, six leagues from Priego, bivouacking the remainder of the night, and part of next day. Nothing occurring worthy of notice, marched in the evening for Jaen, three leagues distant, where the troops were quartered in convents, and the General proceeded to adopt rigorous measures for the confiscation of the property of some disaffected inhabitants, who had absconded on his approach; which he could not however realize, being intercepted by the advance of the French.

"But it will be necessary, before I enter on a detail of the affair of this place to observe, that by turning out of our line of march to the left from Monte-Frio on Priego, we lost nearly two days, by which the French had time to collect in force, and come up with us at Jaen; which otherwise they could not have effected; to which, added to the diffidence and dismay excited in our troops, by the apathy of those of Ballesteros, may be, in my mind, ascribed all our ulterior disasters; as in consequence, a number of our officers and men, and whole squadrons of cavalry, abandoning our cause, in the most dastardly, skulking manner, remained concealed in Ballesteros's cantonments; but digressions apart, and returning to Jaen—about twelve o'clock A. M. a considerable body of French horse presented themselves before the town, on an extensive

champagne country; was engaged by our guerrillas of both arms, the fire continuing without losing ground on our side for about two hours, till the French infantry coming up in force, our General ordered a retreat towards La Manchuela de Jaen, leaving our cavalry to cover our rear; a duty they performed in the most *Hudibrastic* style, running down, and sousing as gallantly, whilst wading a river, the very infantry they were ordered to protect; and their disorder would have extended to the head of the column, if the infantry, *cool* in every sense of the word, by quickly taking position and facing the enemy, had not obliged them to keep at a more respectful distance. The flying cavalry rallied, and severely reproved by Riego, and encouraged by the conduct of their brave and injured companions on foot, returned to the post they had abandoned, and the column retired in good order to the last-mentioned town by night-fall, when the enemy ceased hanging on our rear. Here we halted for a short time, and leaving on our left the direct road to Jodar, proceeded to it, by a mountainous and almost impervious footpath owing to which, the obscurity of the night, several streams, the distance, (being six leagues) the want of refreshment, and the fatigue of the day, nearly one thousand of our men lay strewed along the road before we arrived at Jodar, about mid-day; when, as usual, we had scarcely got

into quarters, and little suspecting an enemy at hand, were completely surprised by a corps of cavalry detached from Andujar, where early notice had been received of our movement.

"About six hundred infantry, which had not gone to sleep, and an equal number of cavalry, were hastily mustered by the General, the former taking a position on a rising ground close to the town, and the latter with orders to keep the enemy in check, but not forgetting their usual *valour*, clapped spurs to their chargers, turning their backs on the enemy, galloped in the most *dashing style*, loaded with our curses and execrations, as well as the scoffing huzzas of the pursuing enemy, who, intimidated by our fire, by which they lost a few, kept at a respectful distance, to follow up a richer, but more ignoble game, that is to say, an immense baggage, military chest, with a considerable number of straggling, cowardly officers, and men, of all descriptions. The routed cavalry, to stamp indelibly their infamy, made for Ubeda, begging a participation of the inglorious security enjoyed there by a party of Ballesteros' troops, also cavalry. Our infantry on the height, now reduced to five hundred men, continued their march till late at night, towards Cazorla, the first town of consequence on the west, and at the fort of the Sierra de Segura, where we arrived early the following morning, and again lost by desertion, of offi-

cers, and men, an hundred more. Having an unfavorable account of the political ideas of those almost savage mountaineers, we rested on an eminence close to the town whilst bread was served to us, and thence ascended a stupendous mountain; after gaining the summit, and descending the opposite side, we were unexpectedly fired on by a party of rebels that lay concealed behind the impending cliffs, killing some of the hindmost baggage animals. This scene was repeated from a similar place, two leagues in advance; and from the difficulty of the pass, and the total negligence of the troops, who crowded on each other at a fountain, and in such situation, out of their power to defend themselves, many lives must have been lost, had not Lieut. Corrigan of my regiment, who I am proud to say is a countryman, volunteered, and with some difficulty persuaded a few soldiers to follow him, climbing up the rock, quickly dislodged the rebels when nearly within pistol shot of the column, and after a few vollies on both sides, dispersed them, and gave time for the division to march with order and security. The same night about ten o'clock, we were again fired upon in fording a river by another party, apparently in force, from the heavy discharge of musquetry, which was quickly returned by our wearied people, having killed some of them, as we afterwards heard, not having received the slightest injury on our part. Moving forwards

with caution to a large farm-house in front about half a league, after placing the requisite sentinels, enjoyed the most refreshing sleep until morning, when we moved forward to Castril, where we halted two or three hours, and recommenced marching till ten o'clock, halted, and bivouacked near a farm-house until four; arrived at Galera at ten; stopped for rations till twelve; set out for and reached Maria about midnight, after a long and painful march; bivouacked again until sunrise; had some bread and wine, moved on slowly (the effect of fatigue) towards La Zarzilla, which we reached by dusk; took some repose (if there was nothing else to be had) until four, and then started, moving in the direction of Carthagena; and about eight o'clock fell in with the enemy's out-posts, which we took to be Facciosos, whose left was supported by a farm-house, three leagues north of this town, extending their centre and right flank in the same direction along a ravine, concealed by fir-trees and various brushwood. Our road lying at right angles with their line, and passing through their centre was found to be impassable, being strongly defended on both sides by the farm-house and the ravine just mentioned, which, on driving in their skirmishers, we discovered to be lined with French troops; in consequence my battalion of Catalonia light infantry, in all eighty men, were directed to out-flank the enemy's

right, the remainder of the division following the same direction, receiving and returning a sharp fire for two hours; and finding it impossible to force the French from their strong positions which they had been in possession of in our front and left flank; and finding ourselves suddenly attacked by a multitude of armed peasants from the hills immediately in our rear, we still kept our ground until our ammunition being expended, confusion, and its natural consequence, dispersion, ensued. A number of the most timid seeking safety in the swiftness of their horses, and their *own*, were to a man picked up, robbed of every thing, or murdered by the armed peasantry of the neighbouring villages, who hunted them down with as much savage alacrity as if they were beasts of prey. My friend and I were taken on the field of action, and literally stripped to the skin and of six doubloons in gold, so that our condition is miserable beyond description, as no pecuniary allowance is given us by the French, keeping body and soul together with one scanty and precarious meal in the twenty-four hours.

"The action took place on the 19th, and the scene of it of dubious denomination, some calling it the Heights of Loy, others of Aviles, and others of La Zarzilla, villages equi-distant from the ground. A greater part of the prisoners were assembled in the afternoon at the farm-house

above-mentioned, and thence conducted to this town, where we have been received by the inhabitants in the most ferocious and insulting manner; and were it not for the French, we should have been quickly sacrificed to their fanatic fury, who, to their honor, exerted themselves to the utmost in protecting us; I had, notwithstanding, a sound and hearty salute from one of their bludgeons; their knives were ready for all, but happily no lives were lost. The lancers, who came up at the close of the affair, made a number of prisoners, whom they not only kindly treated, but rescued from the murderous attempts of the peasantry.

"You will perceive that we had no cavalry, except a few mounted infantry officers, since Jodar, where Riego, on seeing their dastardly flight, and the desperate turn of affairs, and having his horse shot under him, mounted another, and consulting, I suppose, his personal safety, has not since appeared. The prevailing rumour is, that with three or four attendants in smugglers' disguise, he was recognized, and made prisoner in a peasant's house in the Sierra Morena. The greater part of our little force would have effected their escape from the quadruple number of the French, had it not been cut off in all directions by the numberless hordes of peasants."

No. VIII.

Proclamation of the Minister Manzanares, the Day after the Bombardment of Cadiz.

Honorable and loyal Inhabitants of Cadiz, and all you other valiant Defenders of Liberty and National Honor!

His Majesty's Government hastens to pay the tribute of the homage due to the heroic virtues which, as well as upon all other occasions, you yesterday displayed, during the perfidious attack by which our enemies sought to put to the test your decision and constancy. But at the same time the Government is not less anxious to unite with you in proclaiming to the world, the sentiments of generous indignation which, with as much unanimity as energy, you expressed at the contemplation of the horrible outrage which the French Government perpetrated against the sanctity of the person of your King and against all the Royal Family.

That Government has given us proofs too numerous of the falshood of its professions, and of the perfidy of its intentions; but what occurred yesterday, has been the consummation of all the others, and ought to have influence sufficient to dissipate every illusion.

You have seen that there is no private property, nor is there a person in the whole nation,

not excepting the King himself, who is not found to be comprehended within this circle of hostilities, of which the King of France solemnly pledged himself to reduce the extension within the narrowest possible circumference!

Now, every one may well understand what the French Government means by *revolutionaries, (revolucionarios)*, when it gives us assurance that it is only against them it directs hostilities, and not against the King nor the Spanish Nation. Our arsenals are *revolutionary*, our commerce is *revolutionary*, and every one within the walls of Cadiz is *revolutionary*, without excepting even the King.

The houses which the enemy yesterday attempted to burn and destroy, certainly do not belong to the Government, nor to those functionaries who have chosen to be the followers of its destiny. The enemy well knows, that the art of war has invented means of preserving the soldiers from the danger of projectiles, and that in hostilities of this kind, the defenceless town is that which is exposed to the greatest danger.

Against the town then, against your wives against your aged fathers, and against your innocent children, have the enemy yesterday directed all their fire; neither have they blushed at the horrible contradiction which was to be found between their works and words; nor have they been restrained by the consideration of the dan-

ger to which the precious (*"preciosa"*) existence of the King was exposed—of that King of whom they proclaim themselves to be the liberators.

His Majesty was well convinced of this, and if he had been intent upon making the vile deed of the invaders still more odious, notwithstanding that he was well aware of the danger to which his royal person stood exposed, and although he perceived that the line of attack was principally directed against his palace; that artillery discharged at sea could not be aimed with precision, and that some bombs might happen to explode over his dwelling, yet would not consent to submit to the reiterated intreaties of his Ministers and Generals, and of all those by whom he was encircled, that he should retire to a situation more secure from danger; and he remained in the society of the Queen, and of the "Senors Infantes," in their ordinary places of residence, that they might partake of the same fate with his subjects; since he could not avert the evil which had befallen them through the agency of those who made the name of the King the pretext of their atrocity.

The disgraceful hardihood (*el escandaloso arrevimiento*) of the French Government yesterday, placed the King of Spain under the necessity of submitting to the cruel alternative, either of appearing to be a coward in the eyes of his subjects, and of the whole world, or of exposing

himself to the hazard of the loss of his life. His Majesty adopted the course which it was easy to anticipate.

'Inhabitants of the Isla Gaditana!

It is unnecessary that the Government should exaggerate the horror of this criminal deed, since you have yourselves witnessed all its circumstances; but it feels anxiety that its voice should reach the hearing of all Spaniards, that they should know that some of the vessels which yesterday made an attack upon Cadiz, bore the flag of Spain, and that under the Spanish flag, they discharged balls, and projected grenades and bombs against the dwelling of the King, and of his august family. They were Spaniards whom the French employed to be the instruments of their vengeance; yet commiserate those unhappy wretches torn with violence from the bosoms of their families, since you have most clearly perceived that, horror-struck at the attempt which they were about to commence, they refrained from coming into action, and the French officers compelled them to fight by blows of the sabre.

This is the system of hellish taotics which our enemies have employed in every part of the Peninsula, to cause Spaniards to die by the hands of Spaniards, and, if possible, to cause

too, that the King of Spain may be immolated by his own subjects.

And what other could have been the result of the crisis in which your fidelity yesterday was placed, if the enemy had succeeded in introducing among you the anarchy and confusion which appear to have been the principal object of their flagitious project? The Government averts its view, struck with horror at the terrific picture which imagination presents to it, delineated by such motives. Doubt not that the French are eager that, by anarchy, the gates of Cadiz should be opened to them, and that they yesterday attempted to obtain that by their shells, which in Madrid they effected through the regicide Besieres.

His Majesty's Government does not by these reflexions intend to incense you more violently against the French, nor to close up the path to every kind of honorable reconciliation; it only desires to forewarn you against the perfidious wiles of the enemy, and to liberate you from those evils from which you were yesterday rescued by your own firmness, and soundness of judgment.

It is not the Government of the King that throws obstacles in the way of peace, but our enemies themselves, by exasperating us every day more and more by their conduct, have lighted the fires of discord by their intrigues, and by

making efforts to exact conditions incompatible with our honor.

Inhabitants of the Isla Gaditana, and all other Spaniards!

His Majesty's Government deplores your afflictions; and the members of whom it is composed would joyfully lose their lives, if they could be assured that by this sacrifice they could effect any remedy; but they will not deliver you up defenceless, and without securing, as far as possible, your future destiny from the power of men who, for the purpose of establishing their dominion, make their commencement by the work of destruction. The Government will never, by its actions, degrade the throne round which they have been placed by the free election of their Sovereign; nor will they ever be untrue to those noble sentiments by which as Spaniards, they ought to be animated, and of which sentiments you afford them a continual example.

This is communicated by order of his Majesty to the public, for its information.

SALVADOR MANZANARES.

Cadiz, Sept. 24, 1823.

No. IX.

A Letter of the Empecinado—Lord Nugent's dignified and spirited Answer to Morillo—and an Article from a Spanish Journal.

I HAVE been myself so much pleased with the two following communications, that I submit them to the reader.

The first is a Letter of the Empecinado to the Alcalde of Coria.

"In Coria, which is one of the most factious towns *(más fácciosos)* in the Peninsula, they took an officer prisoner, who was bearing dispatches to Ciudad Rodrigo, and intended to shoot him at the same time with some others of the innumerable prisoners whom they had incarcerated for being *Liberales*. Some charitable soul *(alma caritativa)* did not fail to give an account of this infamy to General Empecinado, and to implore of him to come to put an end to the sufferings of these unhappy men."

"The Empecinado did present himself with his column, and sent the following notification to the Alcalde of Coria. As in that town they have certain good motives to convince them that he performs whatever he promises, they did not choose to expose themselves to the disappoint-

ment, and they did what he commanded."—The notification runs as follows:

"*The Empecinado to the Alcalde of Coria.*

"If this day, you do not place at my disposal the 160 muskets which are in your possession, also the officer who was the bearer of the dispatches to Ciudad Rodrigo, and at the same time every one of those who have been imprisoned for their opinions; in forty-eight hours there shall exist of this town no other memorial than an inscription, which shall say, *(diga)*, 'Here stood an infamous town.'

"God preserve your Worship ('a V') many years.

"THE EMPECINADO.

"*Moraleja, August* 16, 1823.

"*Senor Alcalde of Coria.*"

The second is Lord Nugent's answer to Morillo's invitation.

"The name of Morillo is known in England, only as that of a man who was the persecutor of liberty in America, and a traitor to her cause in Spain—Never, with my own consent, will I enter the same room with Morillo.

(Signed) "NUGENT."

His Lordship, as I have been informed, sent with his answer, what I suppose may be called a counter-invitation to this effect:—"If the Count of Carthagena happen to be displeased with my reply, he shall find me at the other side of the Bay, ready to give him satisfaction of any other kind which he may choose to demand."—The counter-invitation was not accepted.

By way of good contrast, I select part of an article in the Gaceta of Cadiz, which, if it had been intended as irony, would be worthy of Lucian, but which, as it was written in seriousness, is still of inestimable value for its exquisite refinement of stupidity.—Ferdinand's Proclamation before leaving Cadiz, is the subject.

"En el manifiesta S. M. el prudente y benefico intento de acabar con la revolution en su origen, haciendo desaparecer para siempre los motivos que la produjeron, que no fueron otros que la falta de seguridad para la propiedad y para las personas, y la de aquella libertad civil, que lejos de turbar el orden de la sociedad, es la que mejor le mantiene y afianza. S. M. promete a la Nacion una *felicidad completa,* y es bien seguro que ningun pueblo que goce de semejante beneficio dara oidos a los promovedores de peligrosos novedades."

The gravity with which the truism is deduced as a logical inference, and from such a proposition! the opinion so sagely passed on the

nature of civil liberty, and the smooth and quiet enumeration of the causes of the Revolution, "as being no other than, &c." when taken together in their combination, afford an inimitable proof of the intense power of the human intellect, in that one of its operations which is the opposite to soaring.

No. X.

Extracts from the Address of some Serviles to the Regency of Madrid.

THERE is something peculiarly edifying, and which powerfully excites a consciousness of the elevation of our nature, when we read such addresses as that of the Parochial Curate, and an assembly of some of the inhabitants of Villacastin, a town in Segovia. They address the Regency of Madrid.—They deplore the lamentable captivity of the "most persecuted of Kings," of whom they style themselves the true vassals *(verdaderos vasallos)*.

" Los verdaderos vasallos de S. M. (que Dios guarde).

They assert, that "all the wisdom of ages is to be found condensed in their ancient laws."—They speak of the happiness of their ancestors; and declare that they " are not so presumptuous

as to pretend to be more wise, nor so discontented as to aspire to any other prosperity."

"If from the scattered principles and laws, it should be necessary to form a well-digested code of national rights, *(derecho national)*, and to introduce any alterations, or to compose them in harmony with the variations occasioned by time, the King alone," they say, "is able to determine the proportions and ameliorations of this great edifice, which, by reason of the love of his VASSALS, is a monument more durable than bronze, and much more majestic than the pyramids of Egypt."

They implore, "quickly, Senor, quickly, the institution of the most powerful guarantee of the integrity of our divine religion, and of the public tranquillity—" viz. the Inquisition!

They assure the Regency, that "the towns, the provinces, and the entire nation, repeat the clamours which this meeting has the honour to direct to V. A. S.," at the same time that "they raise them to Heaven, imploring the ILLUMINATION *(las luces)* and the aid, which are necessary for the consummation of so sublime and so arduous an undertaking."

"*Dated Sept.* 1, 1823."

Signed by 13 *of 'em.*

No. XI.

Taking of Santi Petri; and Financial Documents relating to the Fall of Cadiz.

For the following account of the taking of Santi Petri, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. Allan Hay, who allowed me to extract it from a very interesting journal.

"The squadron stood in for the shore, opposite the second battery south of the Torre-Gorda. It consisted of one ship of the line, one frigate, one corvette, a brig and a schooner. The schooner led the way about two furlongs in advance; and at nine o'clock they were within gun-shot, and the batteries commenced firing; but the artillery being twelve pounders only, the shot fell far short. Soon after, the guns of Santi Petri opened upon the ships, and being of heavy calibre, they threw their balls far beyond the squadron, but did no visible execution. The men of war did not return the fire, but while the schooner proceeded farther in shore to take the sounding, they quietly lay-to, silently presenting their broad black batteries to the coast: and at length the tide being at ebb, they slowly filled, and stood off from the land to the distance of two leagues. But at twelve o'clock, the flood having arrived at its height, they tacked, and returned towards the

shore: the schooner led the way as before, and during the advance, continued rapidly signalizing with the ships. At length the squadron arrived within half gun-shot of the beach, and having tacked, stood S.S.W. Santi Petri bearing S.S.E.

"During the whole of this time numbers of our officers and men had assembled on the brows of Campo Soto to watch the vessels; many conjectures were made upon their object, but none suspected they had any design of attacking Santi Petri. It was however sufficiently evident that this was their destination, and that the wind being directly foul for their approach, they were endeavouring to gain an angle by which they might reach down within gun-shot of the castle, by a sea-ward tack.

"Having effected this purpose, they lay-to, while the schooner continuing her course, edged away upon Santi Petri, until having arrived nearly parallel with the castle, she was recalled, and returned. As soon as she arrived in the front of the squadron, she tacked upon her former course; at the same moment the ships filled their sails and followed the schooner; and as they stood off upon the tack, the signals were hauled down, and the ensign was hoisted at the mizen peak.

"No sooner were their white flags visible, than the French batteries on the Barrosa opened a hot cannonade of shot and shells upon Santi

Petri. The fire, however, was ill directed, and did little execution; most of the shells fell short, on the Canal, and the greatest part of the shot flew over the Castle; it was some time before the elevations were brought to bear. In the first half hour I observed no more than one shell and two shots strike the Castle, and during the remainder of the affair the effect was very inconsiderable, compared to the warmth of the fire.

In the mean time the batteries of the Castle, Erutia, and San Philipe, seconded by the gun-boats in the Canal, returned a continued discharge against the enemy; so that the coast was obscured by wreaths of smoke, and the balls from either side threw up clouds of dust, and plashed in the water with pelting strokes.

"In the course of half an hour the Commodore of the French squadron arrived in a line with Santi Petri, about a mile and a half distant; and having dropped anchor, swung round into a parallel with the body of the Castle. A deep and anxious pause ensued while the sails were furling, and a portentous tranquillity appeared to rest upon the distant ship. At length, with a volume of smoke and a peal of thunder, she opened her fire, and discharged a running broadside at the Castle. For near a quarter of an hour afterwards she remained silent, and in the mean time the second ship, a frigate, passed under her lee, and proceeded to take up her posi-

tion; but owing to the opposition of the wind, she could not haul sufficiently close to come on the line with the Commodore, and anchored at some distance, in an oblique position. As soon as her sails were furled, both vessels commenced a terrible cannonade upon the Castle, and continued to discharge their broadsides without intermission. They soon became enveloped in smoke, their sides gleamed with incessant flashes, and the shot pelted round the Castle.

"Santi Petri was now the very centre of destruction; in the first hour of the attack 1000 balls were fired at it from the batteries and the ships; the shot crossed over and around it in every direction, and the shells continually exploded on the rock, or in the air, and sent off wreaths of smoke, which thickened the volumes of the Castle, or formed little white clouds which floated in the air, and slowly evaporated until they were lost.

"The fire of the ships was much more justly directed than that of the batteries; the second broadside of the 74, told upon the rock of the Castle, and at the third, clouds of dust and rubbish marked the concussion of the shot upon the walls. Latterly, however, the shells were thrown with considerable precision, and several were seen to explode at the foot of the rampart, and some upon the parapet, and in the court of the Castle.

"At length the two last ships passed those already anchored, but being unable to get into the line, for the same reason which prevented the second, they formed as nearly as they were able, and thus the squadron stood in an echelon, oblique from the parallel about forty-five degrees.

"Owing to this obstacle, the first frigate had been unable to come within the fair range of her guns, and the remainder of the ships were out of gun-shot altogether; and having discharged a few ineffectual broadsides, they discontinued their fire. The attack was therefore almost entirely sustained by the Commodore, partially seconded by the next frigate. During the cannonade the schooner, although a very small vessel, stood close under the walls of Santi Petri, and with the greatest audacity fired several guns at the Castle. The latter was so much occupied by enemies of more importance, that she did not bestow a single discharge upon her impertinent assailant; and at length the schooner returned to the squadron, and, joined by the two exterior corvettes and the brig, stood slowly out to sea, doubtless for the purpose of beating nearer to the Castle.

"In the mean time another frigate was seen standing up from the south, and shaping her course upon the Castle; and the Commodore, who had retained his position, continued to batter the Castle with little intermission.

" During the heat of the attack a small Spanish brig, which on the preceding evening had taken shelter under the walls of the Castle, finding herself in the midst of an unexpected storm, hoisted sail with the intention of flying from the danger; but whether she escaped, or what became of her, I never understood. At intervals she was invisible in the smoke, and for some time I ceased to remember her; when at length I recollected to look for her appearance, she was no longer in her accustomed place, and no where visible at sea.

" At length the cannonade slackened on both sides; the artillery in the gun-boats *conceiving* their guns ineffectual, ceased their fire altogether; the batteries and Castle were sometimes silent, for a quarter of an hour, and the ship made frequent and long pauses in her discharge.

" After a considerable relaxation the Commodore renewed his fire with recovered vigour, and poured broadside after broadside at the Castle; the works on the shore quickened their cannonade, and at four o'clock Santi Petri discontinued her fire, and having hoisted no colours during the action exhibited the white flag flying on her tower.

" The boats of the ships were soon after manned, and having proceeded to the Castle, the French took possession.

" From that day to the period of my departure

nothing authentic was known of the condition of the garrison; but many contradictory reports were circulated in the Isla. Some said that the Castle had surrendered for want of ammunition, and some from the slaughter of the men, and the dilapidation of the fort. But others asserted, that few had been killed among the garrison, and small injury effected upon the works; but that the soldiers, intimidated by a base panic, had demanded the surrender of the Castle, and upon the refusal of the officers to comply, had risen upon them with outrageous fury, and having killed the Commandant, had pinioned the subalterns, and hoisted the French colours.

"It is to be hoped that this infamous account is unfounded, and there is just reason to believe that the whole was a vile fabrication devised by the disaffected to disseminate distrust.

"It is well known, that from the surrender of Santi Petri to the fall of Cadiz, no person passed from the Isla to Santi Petri; neither did any arrive from the Castle in the Island. When, therefore, three days after the surrender, people professed to promulgate its particulars, I leave all to judge of the weight of their authority.

"The fall of Santi Petri caused a heavy gloom and a deep dejection both in Cadiz and the Isla. The inhabitants of San Fernando expected to see the French in their streets in the space of one or two days; and among the army an uni-

versal belief was held of an immediate attack upon the side of Erutia. The spirits of the soldiers declined to despondency, and they no longer entertained any hope of obtaining a favourable issue to their contest, nor of purchasing the liberty of their country either by force or mediation.

"Worn out with rigorous duty, disheartened by the inadequacy of their numbers, and the expiration of outward aid, they considered the cause as already decided; and beholding the French continually closing upon them, and successively carrying every point of attack, they looked for the fall of Cadiz at no distant period. Their hopes, their expectations, and their confidence, had been entirely confounded by the unkindness of the English, the defection of the Generals, and the turpitude of the peasants. They saw themselves abandoned by the world, cut off from all the resources of their country, pecuniary, popular, and military, and closed within an inextricable corner; they felt that there was no point of support, and no aid to inspire resistance by the hope of relief. They saw that the heart of the Constitution was shut up in Cadiz, and no longer possessing members or a body, could draw no supply of vital aid from without, and would soon lose the animation which it derived from itself.

"Amid these melancholy reflections the cra-

vings of want mixed their passions with the dejections of evil boding. Hunger and deprivation had already afflicted them to a severe extreme, and now wrought their patience with a misery which drew their uncultivated and unexalted spirits to bitterness and murmurs.

"Their daily food was a scanty portion of coarse black bread, a small allowance of rice or garbanzo, and neither wine nor spirits. Their shoes and clothes were worn out with constant service, so that many were barefooted, and others destitute of various necessary articles. In one battalion three hundred men were without great-coats or blankets, and this, so far from being an isolated fact, was but a more remarkable instance of a destitution very general.

"The *materiel* of the army, though in a better state than the clothing, was yet very defective. The magazines were wasting to exhaustion, and the arms were insufficient. Three hundred muskets were useless in one battalion; in others there was a deficiency of bayonets; and in all, the flints were very bad and ill supplied.

"In Cadiz the fall of Santi Petri created as deep a sensation as on the Isla. During the siege and blockade the strait of Santi Petri had been the only remaining access by which the city had been able to draw a supply of necessaries, and hold communication without the Isla; now therefore that this last channel of

relief was closed, they were confounded with the astonishment of common minds overtaken by calamity, and heightening the past by the future, they daily looked forward with apprehension for the bombardment of the city, &c. &c."

In that part of the text of this volume in which the fall of Santi Petri was related, I promised to give the most authentic account I could obtain of an event of so much influence on the cause of Spanish Liberty. As all the circumstances were involved in utter darkness and incertitude, I waited to the very last hour before the publication of these Notes, in hope of some elucidation, for dissipating the mystery which envelopes the conduct of the garrison.

Mystery, whether in politics, religion, or any thing else, is a bewildering subject; and to this very hour, although I have made innumerable inquiries, I am incapable of affirming whether in the island fortress of Santi Petri they were heroes, or cravens, or traitors, who composed the garrison.

Upon the contemplation and comparison of every thing together, my conjecture was for a long time coincident with my feeling; an impulse to a conviction that the soldiers did their duty; that they stood the fiery shower of the enemy;

that they died at their guns, and that their memory had been wronged.

Within the last five days, however, some circumstances have come to my knowledge, which create a difficulty of retaining this sentiment in their favor. But I pass no judgment. An argument has been made against them, from the circumstance of their not having hoisted the Spanish flag during the action. I rather incline to construe this in their favor; for it may be generally remarked of our amiable species, that when they want a pretext for any act very base and flagitious, they are nervously tenacious of adherence to forms.

"Exeunt with much ceremony," is the stage direction in a domestic (Newgate) drama, for the Cyprians who were traitresses to the man whom they had been caressing.

It seems to be a kind of antagonist action of the muscles of man's soul, to that stratagem of seeming most indifferent, when he is most intent upon a purpose.

Financial Notes, given me by Senor ———

No. I.

"Par le traité de Paris de 1814, la France avait stipulé pour l'Espagne une somme de deux millions de piastres fortes á titre d'indemnité

pour les sujets Espagnols qui auraient essuyés des pertes illegales dans la guerre precedente. Jusqu'à la liquidation de ces dettes, la somme etait restée en depot entre les mains de M. Machado, Consul General Espagnol à Paris.

" L'invasion des troupes Francaises dans la Peninsule en Mai 1823, coupa toutes les relations entre les deux puissances, et mit un terme à la liquidation dont il s'agit. M. Machado vint à Londres, toujours conservant sa qualité de depositaire, qu'on ne pouvait pas lui oter, la somme etant en inscriptions sur le grand livre de la dette Francaise, et au nom du dit Machado. Lors du siége de Cadix, le Gouvernement Espagnol voulut disposer de cette somme, qui lui etait devenue indispensable, et avec laquelle il aurait sauvé la patrie en prolongeant la defense de Cadix. Il tira en consequence, des lettres de change sur M. Machado, et prit à compte de grosses sommes que quelques negocians de Cadix avancerent. Mais M. Machado refusa le payement, et par consequent le ministère resta sans ressource, et les negocians ruinés."

" Cette derobeissance fut un coup mortel pour la cause Peninsulaire. Elle etait hautement criminelle de la part de M. Machado, qui n'etait qu'un fonctionaire public, et un depositaire, et qui en cette double qualité etait obligé à payer."

No. II.

"La Maison Ardoin Hubbard de Paris, qui avait contracté l'emprunt avec l'Espagne avait entre ses mains en qualité de depot 700,000 piastres en inscription à 5 pour cent, dans le grand livre de la dette d'Espagne."

"On avait dit dans le contrat qu'à l'expiration d'un certain tems ces inscriptions seraient rendues au Gouvernement Espagnol pour etre detruites."

"On envoya à Londres deux commissaires pour cette operation, Messrs. Blanco et Uriarte, mais à peine arrivés, ils reçurent les ordres les plus pressants du Gouvernement pour mettre en circulation ces inscriptions, en faisant tous les sacrifices imaginables afin d'en tirer quelque argent."

"La Maison Ardoin Hubbard proposa de suite qu'elle mettrait en circulation les certificats, et qu'elle donnerait d'abord 8 millions de reaux, et par la suite jusqu'au mois de Decembre 50 millions de reaux. Ces sommes etaient trés superieures á celles que le Gouvernément pouvait attendre; aussi M. Blanco donna immediatement son approbation, mais M. Uriarte la refusa avec la plus etrange obstination."

"On peut dire sans crainte de compromettre

la verité, que cette operation* aurait prolongé de plusieurs jours la defense de Cadix."

* *I recollect to have seen a parcel of papers on which the Governor of the Corta-dura had written a memorandum to the following effect:*

"*Several reports about the misery and starvation of the Custom-House Guards, given as aids to the Artillery Men.*

(Signed) "*L. F. G. &c.*

"September, 1823."

No. XII.

Description of the Prison of the Inquisition at Santiago.

I HAVE heard General Quiroga, by whom (as has been mentioned) it was purchased, give a description of the interior of the building, and of the subterraneous dungeons of that "Castle of Despair."

The hall where the members of the tribunal sat upon their judgment seats, was hung with black (the Inquisitors were dressed in black); the stone table, on which was placed a large ink-standish, was covered with a cloth of the same colour—some chairs were placed near the stone table. The candles were black, and every thing else in the doleful hall, except a large picture of the Crucifixion, which was hung at the end, opposite to the chair of the presiding Inquisitor. Two iron doors were on either side, opening to the passages leading to those "*regions dolorous*," the dungeons of the prison.

In some places, cavities formed to the shape of a man, were hollowed out in the walls, where victims were pent close, while under the endurance of "the question" of the merciless holy office.

The continuous dropping of water on the head,

and what may be best described as a broiling of the sole of the foot over a slow fire, with unctuous matter in a shallow brass cauldron, were two of the tortures which were mentioned in the recital.

Lest the shrieks of the victims should move to pity if they were heard, the vaulted cells prepared by the tribunal for the infliction of its agonies, were so remote, and were sunk so deep under ground, that no groans could be heard above, to burst from those who were in torment.

Another officer, who in 1816 had been brought into the building by the son of the person who had the charge of the unhappy prisoners, was informed that each of the Inquisitors who sat in the judgment hall, knew the names only of those whom he himself had sent to the dungeons, but was ignorant of the names of those who might be incarcerated under the orders of any of the others.

"Ah, how happy are these Inquisitors!" exclaims Don Cleophas, the student of Alcala.—"So happy," replies Asmodeus, "that were I not a Devil, I should joyfully be an Inquisitor*!"

* La Sage, Diable Boiteux.

No. XIII.

State of the Garrison of Cadiz.

THE total force in the Isla, the Corta-dura, lines, and Cadiz, amounted to no more than 9600 men, giving an effective force of 7000, of which a great portion was unserviceable for want of muskets.

One of the battalions of that part of the army to which we were attached, consisting of 450 men, had more than 200 firelocks which could not be discharged.

Not a sand-bag to be procured for the batteries —not a pallisade in any of the works—no provisions in the magazines, and not more than twenty-five dollars in the treasury.

No. XIV.

MISCELLANEOUS.

No. I.—*Extract of one of Sir Robert Wilson's Official Dispatches to the Spanish Committee; written last Summer from Galicia, and sent home by an Aid-de-Camp.*

"*Arms* and *time*, are the two most precious objects for your consideration; but there is only one opinion of the great benefit which would morally as well as militarily result from the appearance of some English force; not only as the presence of that force would assist the defence of Galicia, but as it would animate all Spain with confidence, and impart new vigor from one extremity to the other."

"It is not only as a friend of Spain, but as an Englishman, and if I may presume to say it, as an English Statesman, that I urge these topics for your consideration, as I am persuaded the opportunity is presented, for forming bonds of lasting amity with one of the most interesting nations in Europe; whose value has heretofore been never sufficiently appreciated, since its intelligence was never before in any degree commensurate with its natural powers."

"I think also, I ought to state my conviction, that the Spanish Constitutionalists are not actuated by any of those violent revolutionary feel-

ings which are ascribed to them by the enemies of all national improvement."

"That *independence* is the object of their present exertions, and that independence being gained, they would oppose no unreasonable impediments to the adjustment of all internal differences."

"This feeling I will undertake to say, exists throughout Galicia; and to the knowledge of it, is in a great measure to be attributed the tranquillity which has been preserved, notwithstanding the efforts of agitators to disturb it."

"The late events in Portugal have doubtless occasioned some anxiety, and must necessarily affect the means of defence against the common enemy; but I feel no apprehension of the public spirit being daunted by the increase of danger*."

* * * * * * * *

"If I could carry up a few British with me to the frontier, I should be very glad," &c.

* * * * * * * *

"Ferrol, Corunna, Vigo, and Bayona, are the best ports for vessels to make, which are sent out under the authority of the Committee, and orders are already sent for their reception.

"I have the honor to be,

"Gentlemen, &c. &c.

"R. T. WILSON."

* The Portuguese Government affected formally to deprive Sir Robert Wilson of the Order of the Tower and Sword, *after he had himself flung it back in scorn.*

No. II.—*From the "Suplemento al Seminario Patriotico" of Vigo, June* 19, 1823.

An Account of the Sitting of the Spanish Committee at the Crown and Anchor, when a Resolution was passed, that a General Meeting* should be convened for the purpose of raising a National Subscription.

On this occasion a distinguished individual, Mr. Lambton, our President, subscribed the sum of one thousand pounds—a donation alike honorable to himself and to his country. This noble boon, and the donation of "the illustrious member, Sir Francis Burdett," are acknowledged in the Spanish document.

"La comision para el ausilio de los Espanoles ha determinado convocar á junta general que debe celebrarse en el cafè de Londres el viernes 13 del corriente, para establecer una subscripcion nacional para ausiliar al valeroso pueblo Espanol. Presidirá el Sr. General, Lord William Bentick, Comandante en Gefe de las fuerzas Britànicas en el Mediterráneo. Se dará principio á las 12 en punto, y la comision espera con la mayor confianza que inmeditamente se celebraràn iguales juntas en los demas pueblos del Imperio Britá-

* The meeting was adjourned considerably beyond the time at first appointed, in consequence of the arrival of the intelligence of the treason of Abisbal.

nico.—Por acuerdo de la comision, Juan Jorge Lambton, Presidente.

Nota.—El Sr. Lambton al aceptar la presidencia ofreció contribuir con cinco mil duros, y el ilustre miembro Sir Francis Burdeti, con cincuenta mil reales.

No. III.—*Spanish Translation of the Resolutions entered into by the Corporation of London, when the Sum of* 1000*l.* *was voted from their Funds in aid of the Spanish Nation, "that their Armies might be crowned with triumphant laurels in their glorious struggle against the tyrannous Government of France."*

"El 10 del corriente se reunió la respetable corporacion del Ayuntamiento de Londres con el obgeto de votar la suma con que queria subscribirse en obsequio de la justa causa que defiende la Espana. Los ilustres miembros que la componen han dado en sus discursos la mas relevante prueba del sincero y verdadero patriotismo que anima à los hijos de la libertad. Despues de una larga discusion acordaron las siguientes proposiciones.

"1ª. La independencia nacional es lo mismo para las naciones que el goze de la libertad para sus individuos, y asi, cuando un gobierno trata de arruinar la independencia à otro estado, ataca por este solo hecho á todo el mundo civilizado. Esta corporacion vé con horror y escándalo la in-

justa invasion de la peninsula, movida por la ominosa idea de forzar á los Espanoles á que admitan de nuevo unas instituciones, no solo injuriosas y hostiles á su independencia y libertad sino degradantes á la ilustracion del siglo, y conoce ademas que la conducta tiránica del actual gobierno de Francia es mas contraria á la conservacion de la paz y mas enemiga del bien estar é independencia de la Europa que las medidas arbitrarias que en su tiempo empleó Napoleon contra la Peninsula. Bajo de estos principios, esta corporacion crée, que una violacion tan atrevida de todos los derechos nacionales debe ser mirada con horror y resistirse con enfuerzo por todas las naciones libres y liberales.

"2ª. Que esta corporacion sinceramente se une al valeroso pueblo de Espana y a laude con entusiasmo su resolucion patriótica de perecer en la gloriosa lucha por su independencia y libertad, antes que someterse y sufrir las persecuciones y demas insultos que necesariamente debe padecer si llega á destruirse su Gobierno constitucional y representativo. Esta corporacion ofrece con el mayor placer la suma de cinco mil duros de los fondos de la ciudad para ausiliar á la Nacion Espanola á fin de que sus esfuerzos en la gloriosa lucha contra el Gobierno tiránico de Francia, se vean coronados con el laurel del triunfo.

" 3ª. Que se nombre una comision que cuide de la mejor inversion de dicha suma, y se pase la correspondiente orden al Tesorero de la Ciudad para su pagamento. Esta corporacion crée firmemente que su egemplo será seguido por las demas corporaciones y Ayuntamiento de todo el Reino-unido."

No. IV.—*From the Diario of Corunna; an Acknowledgment of the Donation of General Sir R. Dyer.*

August 7, 1823.—Se comunicó en la orden general el generoso donativo que hizo en favor de la causa de la libertad Espanola el IIe general Ingles Sir Tomas Richar-Dier, entregando por conducto de la casa de los Senores Arias, Hermano, y Cabrales diez mil reales de que se hizo cargo el Intendente de Egercito.

No. V.—*Portuguese Translation of a Letter of Morillo to Sir Robert Wilson, which, after having been intercepted, was published in the Lisbon Gazette. The cant of perfidy is well preserved.*

" *Lugo*, 27 *de Maio de* 1823.

" EXCELLENTISSIMO SENHOR,

" Vejo com indezivel prazer as continuas fadigas, e incessantes sacrificios com que V.

Exc. por effeito de verdadeiro amor, que tem á causa da liberdade, a promove, e sustenta em toda a parte.

" Rogo encarecidamente a V. Exc. nao deixe de facilitar por todos os meios possiveis *a este Exercito, exhausto de tudo,* como V. Exc. tem visto, *os soccorros precizos em gente, armas, vestuario, cavallos, e tudo quanto se póde necessitar para a Guerra.*

" No momento em que por parte de V. Exc. se me possa proporcionar algum auxilio de que acima fic expressado, nomearei hum Commissario, que, indo de accordo, com a Pessoa, que V. Exc. me indicar, poderá vencer os inconvenientes, que se possáo a appresentar, até onde alcancem as minhas faculdades, dando ao mesmo tempo quantas garantias estiverem em meu poder.

" O CONDE DE CARTHAGENA.

" *Excellentissimo Senhor General*
Sir Roberto Wilson."

No. VI.—*Ferdinand's first notification to his beloved Vassals* (amados Vasallos) *after his departure from Cadiz, an order for the occupation of the Town and Isla by the Army under the command of his august and beloved, &c. &c.*

" Restituido á la plenitud de mis reales derechos no descansará mi real animo hasta que alcancen à mis amados vasallos los efectos de tan faustos acontecimientos; y á este fin he venido en resolver que se entreguen en el dia de manana todos los puestos militares de la Isla de Leon y la plaza de Cadiz al ejercito que manda mi augusto y amado primo duque de Angulema para que los ocupe en mi Real nombre; à cuyo fin dispondreis que se ponga de acuerdo los gefes militares de dichos puntos con los del mismo ejercito aliado.—Y lo comunico à V. S. de real orden para su inteligencia y puntual cumplimiento en la parte que le toca. Dios guarde à V. E. muchos anos.

" VICTOR SAEZ,

" Sr. Commandante General de la plaza y linea de Cadiz.

" *Puerto de Sta. Maria,*
1 *de. Octubre de* 1823."

No. VII.—*Bitter Practical Satire.*

When writing the description of Ferdinand's departure, I mentioned that some boiling pitch, and a wood fire lighted at the top of the wharf, emitted a heavy smoke almost at the point where he embarked for Porta Maria.

After my return to London I was one day describing this circumstance to a Spaniard, who, when he heard it, smiled, and told me he had no doubt this "*calembour pratique*" was a bitter sarcasm.

When the Andalusians, who are celebrated for quickness and wit, take leave of a person whom they never wish to see again, they say, "A Dios, amigo la del humo!"—"I bid you farewell, my friend, that of the smoke!" (which, when it goes, never returns).

No. VIII.—I am indebted to the politeness of Mr. Lambton, for permission to publish the following interesting Letter of the ill-fated gallant Riego. While he sat writing it, his troops were in motion, and he was receiving intelligence and giving orders.

I have not the original, but Colonel R——— was kind enough to furnish me with the translation.

TO JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, ESQ. M. P.

"*Malaga, Sept.* 3, 1823.

"MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

"The distinguished patriot, Sir Robert Wilson, through the medium of Mr. Llewelyn, has this moment given me a proof of the great interest which you and all the English patriots take in the liberty of this unfortunate nation, transmitting me from Gibraltar a valuable present of arms and other military stores.

"The satisfaction which has filled my heart, exceeds all description. I thank you most particularly for this inestimable favor, and for the leading part you have taken in the subscription which the gallant Britons have generously made in behalf of European liberty, so vilely attacked by external and internal enemies.

"Notwithstanding, I trust that we shall triumph, if we (the Spanish army) are assisted by the energy of our own Government, and the favor of the freemen of Europe.

"At this moment I am making preparations for a movement with the troops under my command; and may Heaven guide my steps.

"You, my good friend, and all those who are

friends of humanity, may he fully assured that I shall never tarnish the opinion which my good or ill fortune has procured for me. If you chuse to favor me with your commands, you may be persuaded they will be obeyed with pleasure, by

"Your devoted

"RAPHAEL DEL RIEGO."

CONCLUSION.

ENGLAND.

I ARRIVED in London with Signor Zuluetta, and the three other Spaniards who had been the companions of my voyage from Gibraltar, and immediately waited upon Madame Quiroga. I had the gratification of relieving that amiable woman from a state of deep and bitter affliction, arising from her apprehension and incertitude of the fate of her husband.

Colonel Grant, to whose courtesy and kindness I have great personal obligations, expressed a wish on our first interview, that I should give in a Report to the Spanish Committee, and the one which was read was honored by its approbation.

Early in the winter, Generals Quiroga, Mina, Valdes and Romay, the Senors Arguelles, Galiano, and many other Spaniards eminently distinguished for their patriotism, talents, and attainments, sought in England an asylum from the persecution of the Despot Slave. My friend Senor Mora, an

accomplished man of letters, and an able and patriotic political writer, had been here for some time before.

Sir Robert Wilson soon after came home to England, to the joy of every one of us who had been under his command in Cadiz. There were about eight or nine British subjects attached to the Spanish army in that city; I speak only of those who went out last summer.

Upon General Quiroga's arrival in London he gave me the following Address, and requested I would make an application on his behalf to the Spanish Committee, for the sum which would be requisite for sending out one of his Aids-de-camp to the new states of America, to present it to the Governments, and obtain their answers.

The General declined accepting of any private assistance from either of the Committees; but deeming this not a personal but a public service, he commissioned me to make the application, as in consequence of the confiscation of his property and wreck of his fortunes, he could not himself command the sum for the expences of the mission.

"To the Government of ———"

"When I placed myself at the head of those troops which first took the field in the cause of liberty, I did so with no other view than that of giving freedom to my country—perhaps also to other nations. I succeeded in effecting the chief object which I proposed to myself. But ill-fated Spain, which, in 1820, recovered her rights, has now, through a series of circumstances the most flagitious, the most traiterous, been plunged anew into degradation and ignominy. Ferdinand,—the unhappy Ferdinand, has relapsed once more, and again rules the Spaniards with a sceptre of iron. His throne surrounded, as formerly, by the basest superstition, and by despotism beyond endurance, serves only for purposes of folly, injustice, oppression, and persecution. In fine, my wretched country has in the course of a few months, presented more objects for the execration of mankind, than were witnessed in the times of the barbarous and gloomy Philip, or of the imbecile Charles—the second of their names. At this moment all is ruin and desolation; and the consequence is, that men the most worthy

and enlightened of the nation,—the patriotic, the virtuous and the wise, are become persecuted wanderers in foreign lands,—the greater part hitherto without finding a certain and secure asylum. It is on behalf of those that I implore the protection of the ——— Government. And I persuade myself that my entreaties will not be disregarded, if any of my fellow-citizens, persecuted for the liberality of their sentiments and their love of freedom, should seek an asylum on the shores of ———.

" Let that country which was formerly Spanish America, be the refuge of all the friends of Liberty, and thereby consolidate its own freedom on a basis so secure, that all the efforts of tyranny to subvert it shall prove unavailing.

" I feel assured that the Government of —— will excuse the frankness with which it is addressed by a soldier, who asks nothing for himself, and who proclaimed Liberty in his own country, with the very troops destined to extinguish it in America.

(Signed) " ANTONIO QUIROGA.

" *Gibraltar, 3d Nov.* 1823."

On making an application to the new Spanish Committee, (not formed as ours had been, for carrying on the War, but for the relief of the destitute Exiles), I learned that another Spaniard had anticipated the project, and had already gone to South America, under circumstances peculiarly auspicious for the attainment of his purpose.

I have been informed that about 5000 dollars were subscribed by the English at Gibraltar, for the unfortunate Spaniards, before they were driven out of it by our Government to seek an asylum among the Moors.

There are now above 300 Spanish Refugees in London: the circumstances of about 140 of this number, require that they should not decline the succour afforded by England in their day of desolation. There are, I believe, some hundreds more who reside in Devonshire and Cornwall.

Quiroga and Mina live in retirement: to each of them may be well applied the Spanish phrase—CUMPLIO CON SU DEBER—He did his duty.

THE END.

B. M'Millan, Printer,
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